

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA

MAHARASHTRA ARCHIVES

BULLETIN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES

No. 1

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PRINTED IN INDIA BY THE MANAGER, GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS, BOMBAY AND PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT PRINTING AND STATIONERY, MAHARASHTRA STATE, BOMBAY-4

1962

Price—Re. 0·92 *or* 1*s*. 7*d*.

MAHARASHTRA ARCHIVES:

Bulletin of the Department of Archives

To

Datto Vaman Potdar

INTRODUCTION

The Secretariat Record Office, Bombay, has the oldest British document in India besides being the repository of the records created by the East India Company first at Surat and then in Bombay. Forrest has published a few selections from the vast mass of material available here. A " Catalogue Series " of the contents of Secretariat Record Office is in preparation and the first volume in this series (Descriptive Catalogue of the Secret and Political Department Series 1755-1820) has already been published and the second volume (Catalogue of Public Department Diaries 1720-1820) is ready for the press. A historical series is also planned and volumes will be issued as and when ready.

There are a few gaps in our Diaries and volumes which are slowly being filled. During the course of our work we have also acquired microfilms and photoprints of documents pertaining to the history of the East India Company and its relations mainly with the Marathas.

Publication of our catalogue and historical series is a slow process. There is interesting material in our record repository which would be of use to students of history of the Marathas and of the Indo-British period. With a desire to bring to the notice of scholars some of these materials, the Department of Archives, Government of Maharashtra has undertaken to issue of this Bulletin.

The present issue of the Bulletin contains material on Nana Saheb Peshwa whose name was considerably in the news during the last four years.

A photocopy of Anderson's Journal was acquired from the Common Wealth relations Office, London, and, as this document has often been mentioned but never published before, we are offering it for the consideration of scholars.

The autobiographical fragment (आत्महकिकत) published here is an interesting and human document giving glimpses into the life and thinking of an average Marathi family in 1857.

We hope to issue further numbers of bulletin in due course.

P. M. JOSHI.

L-C H 3193*a*

CONTENTS.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The original Mss. of "a Fragment of Autobiography, 1857" published here was brought to the notice of Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar by Shri D. P. Belsare of Shrigonda the son of the author, Pandurang Mahipat Belsare. It was through the good offices of Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar we were able to acquire this Modi Mss.

EDITOR.

JOURNAL OF

JAMES ANDERSON ESQR., WHEN RESIDENT AT THE COURT OF MAHAJEE SCINDIA 1783, ETC.

The Journal covers the period from 2nd November 1783 to 1785. It forms a part of the India Office Records and it is catalogued by S. C. Hill at item 456a (1) at page 251 in his *Catalogue of the Home Miscellaneous Series of the India Office Records*. It is published with the permission of the India Office Library, London.

Capital letters and old spellings of the MS. as also its punctuation, are retained. Matter in the square brackets [ ] is added by the editor.

L-C H 3193—1

INTRODUCTION.

James Anderson, brother of the famous David Anderson was born on 23rd October 1757. He joined Bengal Army as cadet in 1775 and became a Lieutenant in 1778. He was with David Anderson at Benaras during the disturbances of 1781. In November of the same year Hastings appointed him as his aide-de-camp. In 1782-83 we find him working as Assistant to David Anderson who was then Resident at the court of Mahadaji, a position to which he succeeded on David's retirement in November 1783. James was the Resident with Sindia from 3rd November 1783 to 30th December 1786 during which period Sindia was on the move.

He[1] left Sindia's Darbar towards the end of December 1786 due to indifferent health and his place with Sindia was taken by William Kirkpatrick. Warren Hastings was much impressed by the political insight shown by James Anderson who very rightly interpreted[2] the Maratha policy of delaying the signing of the treaty of Salbai. Warren Hastings recognised the merits of James Anderson and in a letter to a friend he says of James, "I have no doubt of being right he is a fine lad".[3]

The relations between Anderson brothers and Mahadaji Sindia were very cordial. David Anderson became a warm supporter of Mahadaji Sindia and used to espouse Mahadaji's cause with Warren Hastings whenever he was consulted about Sindia's affairs by the Governor General. Sindia in his turn shows a great liking for David Anderson[4].

Mahadaji was much pleased with the services rendered by the Anderson Brothers in interpreting the Marathas to the Company and advocated a grant of Jagir worth two lakhs to James Anderson and he wrote to Nana to this effect suggesting that a grant should consist of a territory from the *Surat Athavisi* yielding a suggested revenue[5].

Nana Phadnis did not take kindly to this proposal. He was reluctant to endorse Mahadaji's proposals being afraid that this may result in an increase of prestige for Mahadaji in the Maratha affairs. In his reply to Sindia he says "In the treaties that were concluded with the British there is no agreement of granting *Jagir* to Anderson. Besides Anderson did not help us to get back the places lost to the English during the war especially Thana, Salsette, Bassein and Broach. Upton who came to Poona was at least responded favourably to our claim about these places. David Anderson was considered by us as a gentleman who would have considered favourably Maratha interest, that is

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[1] Anderson married Catharine, daughter of Andrew Grant Esqr. in November 1800. He died in October 1833 (Ross, *Cornwallis Correspondence*, p. 217 n. 1).

[2] *Dodwell,* L. LXX—pp. 172-73.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *PRC* I, p. vii.

[5] *Patre Yadi,* Ls. 418, 428.

why we agreed to Upton being replaced by Anderson. However Anderson would be granted a *sanad* of *Jagir* worth one lakh from the territory of the Gaikwad[1]. Mahadaji's stand was that he was committed to Anderson and he wrote back to Nana, saying, I have already entered in an agreement with Anderson and have promised him a *Jagir* of 1½ lakhs[2]. Nana in return accepted Mahadaji's proposal but suggested that the Marathas should press for the Company's acknowledgment of the five articles by the treaty supplementary to the treaty of Salbai[3]. Then there arose a correspondence as to whether a *Jagir* should be assigned from the Gaikwad's territory or from the territory of the Peshwa[4]. Lastly a *sanad* granting *Jagir* of Hamirpur in Bundelkhand was sent to Mahadaji. This was a year in which the British entered into a treaty with Tippu, (11th March 1784)[5], without consulting Mahadaji in contravention of article 9 of the treaty of Salbai.

On the part of James Anderson, he displayed considerable diplomatic skill and political insight in dissipating the annoyance caused to Sindia by this step and in persuading him to agree to Malet's appointment as resident at the Poona Court. However Sindia's faith in the sincerity of the British was now shaken and he withheld the *sanad* that he received for Anderson[6].

At the same time Nana wrote to Sindia, "as the English had instigated the Siddi of Janjira to attack us, explanation for their conduct may first be obtained from Anderson before delivering the *Sanad*[7]." Thereafter Mahadaji confessed to Nana that the British were unreliable and perfidious, ready to violate all engagements and promises when they went contrary to their interests[8].

Major Browne who was a resident at Delhi at this time did not share a confidence and estime shown by James Anderson towards Mahadaji. He says, "I felt a degree of reserve towards Mr. Anderson with respect to everything which related to Sindia, from perceiving that our opinions of his (Mahadaji's) sincerity could never be reconciled[9]." Anderson on his part had a very high opinion of Sindia. While reporting to Capt. W. Kirkpatrick his opinion about Mahadaji, Anderson says, "Sindia although in the eagerness of ambition may have committed many imprudences with respect to us, has never actually been guilty of a breach of faith, but has on the contrary in the course of our connection given several instances of uncommon liberality[10]. Thus Anderson was convinced that Sindia had never actually been guilty of a breach of faith[11], though Mahadaji's confidence was shaken in the English as seen above.

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1 *Ibid*, L. 428; *HPMS*, L. 329.

2 *HPMS*, L. 343.

3 *Aitchison*, VII, pp. 45-46 (dt. 28th Oct. 1783).

4 *HPMS*, L. 261.

5 *Aitchison* IX, pp. 228-232.

6 *HPMS*, L. 344 (dt. 10th Dec. 1784).

7 *Ibid*, L. 355.

8 *NHM*. III, p. 143.

9 *Browne*, p. 258.

10 *PRC*, I, p. 98.

James Anderson began to stay in Sindia's camp from 3rd November 1783 onwards. Towards the end of May 1784 he left Sindia's camp at Gohad with Bhau Bakshi to go to Lucknow to meet the Governor General. The two arrived at Lucknow early in June 1784. We see from his report that he undertook this visit to bid farewell to Hastings. Anderson stayed with Governor General till 26th July and then he left for Gwalior where he arrived on the 31st July 1784[1], here he stayed with Sindia till 18th October and after that accompanied Mahadaji to Delhi crossing the Chambal on 19th October 1784.

Having stayed at close quarters with Mahadaji, Anderson had a considerable opportunity to study the mind and character of that Maratha chief. Sindia is generally charged with complicity in the murder of Afrasiyab Khan (2nd November 1784). The Ameer-ul-Umrah, by contemporary writers like Francklin[2], Keene[3], and Browne[4]. But James Anderson did not share this opinion and states, "It is not true to warrant the belief of Sindia's participation in the deed"[5] and further remarks, "The Morattoes in general are less sanguinary and less addicted to assassinations than any other sect in Hindoostan[5]." While Anderson was with Sindia at Gwalior, the British were contemplating to secure the person of Prince Jawan Bakht in order to strengthen their position and establish their control over Delhi[6]. Mahadaji reported to Nana that Shahzada Jawan Bakht had flown from Delhi at the instigation of the British that they had induced the Nawab Vazier to assign some revenues for the maintenance of the Prince[7]. Being convinced of British duplicity, Sindia opposed any move, even of indirect interference by the Company in the affairs of the Delhi Court[8]. Of Sindia's attitude James Anderson boldly says, "I must confess that on a candid review of all the circumstances I cannot much blame Sindia for the opposition he may have given it." During this period when relation between the Company and Mahadaji were strained, Mahadaji's attitude with their envoy was praiseworthy and above reproach. Anderson admired Mahadaji's conduct on many occasions and quoted instances of Mahadaji's actions which had evoked this appreciation[9] who also expresses in strongest terms his high respect for the character of the Marathas. He says, "Morattoes, are in general proud consequential, and in a high degree tenacious; but they are not insensible to a proper mildness in others, and with a little attention may be easily brought to show an accommodating disposition on their part. To effect this is indeed a point of the utmost consequence[10].

About the 20th of March 1785 Anderson received letter from the Governor General asking him to take charge of the post of resident at Delhi held by Browne who had been recalled to Calcutta from Delhi[11].

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1 Anderson's *Journal*, p. 25.

2 *Francklin*, p. 130.

3 *Keene*, pp. 100-1.

4 *Browne*, p. 270; also *see* Anderson's *Journal* p. 27.

5 Anderson's *Journal*, p. 37.

6 *PRMH*, I, p. 150.

7 *HPMS*, L. 318.

8 *Browne*, p. 271.

9 Anderson's *Journal*, p. 41.

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Browne*, p. 243.

At the beginning of March 1785 Anderson learnt about demands made earlier by the Emperor for the arrears of tribute of the province of Bengal due from the English. He also understood that Mahadaji supported these demands. Major Browne to whom these demands were made was asked by the Emperor to postpone his departure to Calcutta till a response was received from the Company to a communication from the Emperor demanding this tribute. Anderson was disturbed to find that Mahadaji supported this demand made by the Emperor. The situation was critical. Anderson had to carry out the onrous duty of maintaining friendly relations with Sindia and at the same time protect the dignity of the Company's Government. Anderson achieved great diplomatic success when he persuaded Mahadaji to withdraw his support to the Emperor for his demand for Bengal tribute. He has explained this episode in detail in the Journal. Anderson left Sindia's Court on 20th December 1786.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(M = denotes publication in Marathi).

Abbreviations.		Name of Books.	Author or Editor.
Aitchison	...	A collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vols. V, (Delhi, 1933); VII (Calcutta, 1931).	C. M. Aitchison.
ALS	...	Aitihasik Lekh Sangrah, Vols. VI, VII (Poona, 1910) M.	V. V. Khare.
AP	...	Aitihasik Patravyavahar, Poona, 1933) M.	G. S. Sardesai, K. P. Kulkarni, Y. M. Kale.
ASL	...	Aitihasik Sphut Lekh, Vols. I, II, IV, (from *Itihas Sangrah,* Bombay, 1908-16, Vols. I-VII) M.	D. B. Parasnis.
AT	...	Aitihasik Tipne, Vols. II, III (from *Itihas Sangrah,* Bombay, 1908-16, Vols. I-VII) M.	D. B. Parasnis.
AY	...	Adhikar Yog, (Poona, 1908) M ...	V. V. Khare.
BE	...	British Empire (London, 1915) ...	Lucas, Charles P.
Browne	...	Indian Records Series, *Browne Correspondence,* (National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1960).	K. D. Bhargava.
Burgess	...	The Chronology of Modern India, (Edinburgh, 1913).	James Burgess.
Cadell	...	History of the Bombay Army, (London, 1938).	Sir Patrick Cadell.
CD	...	Chandrachud Daftar, Vol. I, (Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Grantha Mala No. 22, Poona, Shake 1842) M.	......
Chitnis	...	Malhar Ramrao Chitnis's '*Thorle Shahu Maharaj Hyanche Charitra*' (1924) M. ...	K. N. Sane.
CPC	...	Calender of Persian Correspondence, Vols. II, IV, (Calcutta, 1914, 1925), VI, VII, (Delhi, Publication, 1938, 1940).	Government of India Publication.

Abbreviations.		Name of Books.	Author or Editor.
DCH	...	District Census Handbook, *Satara North*, (1952).	Bombay Government Publication.
DIB	...	Dictionary of Indian Biography, (London, 1906).	C. E. Buckland.
Dighe	...	Peshwa Bajirao I, (Bombay, 1942).	V. G. Dighe.
Dodwell	...	Warren Hastings' Letters to Sir John Macpherson (London).	Henry Dodwell.
Duff	...	History of the Mahrattas, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1912).	James Grant Duff.
Forrest (*FD*)	...	Selections from State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department, Vols. II, III, (Calcutta, 1890).	G. W. Forrest.
Forrest (*MS*)	...	Selections from the Letters, despatches and other State papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series, Vol. I, (Bombay, 1885).	G. W. Forrest.
Francklin	...	The History of the reign of Shah Aulum (Allahabad, 1934).	W. Francklin.
FP	...	*East India Companicha Peshwe Darbarshi Farsi Patravyavahar*, (Poona, Shake 1845) M.	G. N. Mujumdar. D. V. Potdar,
Gaikwads	...	Gaikwads of Baroda, Vol. III (Bombay, 1938).	J. H. Gense, D. R. Banaji.
Grier	...	The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife (London, 1905).	S. C. Grier.
HD	...	*Hingane Daftar,* Vols. I, II, (Poona, 1945, 1947) M.	G. H. Khare.
HG	...	Historical Genealogies, (Bombay, 1957—Bombay Government Publication) M.	G. S. Sardesai.
HJ	...	Hobson-Jobson (London, 1903) ...	Col. Henry Yule, A. C. Burnell.
HPMS	...	Historical papers relating to Mahadaji Sindia (Gwalior, 1937) M.	G. S. Sardesai.

ABBREVIATIONS.	NAME OF BOOKS.	AUTHOR OR EDITOR.
Ibrat Namah ...	*'Ibrat Namah'* by Khair-ud-din Muhammad Ilahabadi, an abridged English tr. by Sir J. Sarkar, Vols. I-III.	Typed copy.
IHRC ...	Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings, Vol. XII.	Government of India Publication.
ISPD ...	*Peshwe Daftarantil Sanadapatrantil Mahiti,* (from *Itihas Sangrah*) M.	D. B. Parasnis.
JC ...	The Life of Bakshi Bahadur Mujafardulla, Jiwaji Ballal *alias* Jiwabadada (Bakshi) Kerkar M.	N. V. Rajadhyaksha, P. R. Sinari, A. S. Nerurkar.
Keene ...	Madhav Rao Sindhia ...	Henry George Keene.
Keene (Fall) ...	The Fall of the Moghal Empire (London, 1876).	Henry George Keene.
Khan ...	History of Tipu Sultan, (Calcutta, 1951).	M. H. Khan.
Malcolm	Memoirs of Central India, Vol. I, (1823).	Sir John Malcolm.
Malcolm (History).	The Political History of India from 1784 to 1823 (London, 1826).	Sir John Malcolm.
MDB ...	*Maheshwar Darbarchi Batmipatre* (from *Itihas Sangrah*) M.	D. B. Parasnis.
MR ...	*Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarane* (from *Itihas Sangrah*) M.	D. B. Parasnis.
MS ...	Mahadaji Sindia (Gwalior, 1921) ...	M. W. Burway.
Natu ...	The Life and Times of Mahadaji Sindia (Belgaum, 1894).	V. R. Natu.
NHM ...	New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, (Bombay, 1948).	G. S. Sardesai.
NR ...	*Balaji Bajirao Peshwa Rojnishi,* Vol. I, (Bombay, 1907) M.	G. C. Wad.
Patre Yadi ...	*Kavyetihas Sangrahant Prasiddha Jhaleli Patre, Yadi vagaire lekh* (Poona, 1930) M.	G. S. Sardesai, V. S. Vakaskar, Y. M. Mule.
PD ...	*Purandare Daftar,* Vol. I, (Poona, 1929) M.	K. V. Purandare.
Phalke ...	*Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhane,* Vols. I, II, III (Gwalior, 1929, 1930, 1937) M.	A. B. Phalke.

Abbreviations.	Name of Books.	Author or Editor.
PMR	*Peshwa, Madhav Rao Rojnishi*, Vols. I and II.	G. C. Wad.
PRC ...	Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. I (Bombay, 1952).	Bombay Government Publication.
PRC (EV) ...	Poona Residency Correspondence (Extra Volume).	Bombay Government Publication.
PRMH ...	Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol. I—Delhi Affairs—(Bombay, 1953).	Bombay Government Publication.
Rajwade ...	*Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane*, Vols. I, II, IV, VI, (Vai, 1898; Kolhapur, 1900; Poona, 1924) M.	V. K. Rajwade.
Sarkar ...	Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, II, (2nd Edition, 1950), Vol. III (Calcutta, 1938).	Jadunath Sarkar.
Srivastava ...	Shuja-ud-Daula, Vol. II (Lahore, 1945).	A. L. Srivastava.
SMR ...	*Marathi Riyasat*, (Peshwa Balajirao—1749-1761) (Bombay, 1953) M.	G. S. Sardesai.
SMR (M) ...	*Marathi Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag*, Vol. IV, (Bombay, 1925) M.	G. S. Sardesai.
SMR (U) ...	*Marathi Riyasat, Uttar Vibhag*, Vol. II (Bombay, 1929) M.	G. S. Sardesai.
SPD ...	Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vols. II, VI, XIV, XXI, XXVII, XXIX, XXX (1934) M.	Bombay Government Publications.
SPDD ...	Secret and Political Department Diaries, Vols. Nos. 20, 25, 28, 29 and 30.	(Unpublished).
SPD (NS) ...	Selections from the Peshwa Daftar (New Series), Vol. III, M.	Maharashtra Government Publications.
SR ...	Historical Papers of the Sindia of Gwalior, Vols. 1, 2, (Satara, 1934, 1940) M.	G. S. Sardesai.
Trotter ...	Warren Hastings (Rulers of India Series, Oxford, 1897).	Capt. L. J. Trotter.
Varma ...	A study in Maratha Diplomacy (Agra, 1956).	S. P. Varma.
VH ...	*Vinchurkar Gharanyacha Itihas* (Poona, 1883) M.	H. R. Gadgil.

JOURNAL

OF

JAMES ANDERSON ESQR.

On the 2nd November 1783 I received charge from my Brother Mr. D. Anderson[1] of the Residency with Mahajee Scindia, and I continued in that station until the 20th December 1786, when I delivered it over to Captain William Kirkpatrick[2]. During this period a variety of events took place which independant of their own Importance, derive an additional Degree of consequence, from this general effect in the Establishment of an exorbitant power in Mahajee Scindia and the consequent change which they have produced in the Political Relations of the Company. In the Narrative which I here propose to give of my own Negotiations I shall endeavor to connect with it a progressive Account of the most important of these Events, mixed with general observations upon the views and policy of Scindia. But before I enter on this subject, it may not be improper to give some Account of Sindia, and to endeavour to trace his origin and prior progress.

The real Ancestors of Mahajee Scindia are unknown and indeed the meanness of the Village of *Chomarloda* the place of his birth sufficiently denotes their obscurity[3]. Of this village Scindia is hereditary Chief or patell, and it is somewhat singular that even in the planitude of his present power, he is pround of this Title, and better pleased to be addressed by it, than by any other mode. He is a Maratta but of the lowest cast[4], and on this account he found it extremely difficult to connect his Daughter in Marriage with any one of a higher Cast. He succeeded however in prevailing on a young Bramin to espouse her whose Relations, tho' by no means in opulent circumstances, were so angry at his having demeaned himself by a connection so unsuitable that they discarded him and have never since been reconciled to him.

But tho' Scindia is thus obscure in his *real* origin; yet his connections are high by Adoption. Having entered at an early period of Life into the Army, he found means to recommend himself to *Ranojee Scindia,* who adopted him as his son[5]. This Chief having employed by the *Shahir* [Shahu] *Raja* in the Extension of the Maratta Empire, had about the beginning of the Reign of

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1 *Anderson, David* : Employed by Warren Hastings on important negotiations; sent on an embassy to Mahadaji Sindia, at the close of the first Maratha War, to conclude peace, 1782: examined as a witness at Hastings' trial, 1790, being then President of the Committee of Revenue. *DIB* p. 13.

2 *Kirkpatrick, William* : Son of Col. James Kirkpatrick of the Madras Cavalry; (d. 22 Aug. 1812), *DIB* p. 238.

3 Sindia's family is from Kunneir Kheir (कण्हेर खेड), a village 15 miles of Satara. *Phalke* I, pp. 1-4; *Malcolm, I* p. 95 now known as Kanher in Satara Taluka. *DCH* (N. Satara), 1952, p. 302.

4 They belonged to the *Koonbee* or the cultivator class, *Malcolm* I, p. 95.

5 Ranoji had five sons — Jayaji, Jotiba, Dattaji, Tukoji and Mahadaji. The first three were by his wife, Nimbabai (Malcolm calls her Meenabai. *Ibid*, p. 96), and the latter two were born outside wedlock of Chimabai, (*Phalke* I, pp. 1-4 n. L. 254. Appasaheb was Jayaji's nickname, so was Babasaheb of Jankoji and Nanasaheb of Mahadaji.

(*N.B.* :—L = letter; P = page).

Mahomed Shaw[1] effected the conquest of Malwa[2], and the greatest part of Adjmere [Ajmer]; and agreeably to the general policy of the Maratta Government which was admirably calculated for the increase of the dominions, these conquests were suffered on certain conditions to remain in his possession and to depend as a hereditary Fief to his Heir. At his Death[3] he left two Sons, by birth viz. Jeyapa Sindia and Duttajee Sindia; and two others by adoption Tuttojee [Tukoji] Sindia and Mahajee Sindia[4]. Jeyapa succeeded to his father's extensive possessions, and was afterwards treacherously murdered at Marwar[5]. On his death he was nominally succeeded by his Son Jenkojee Sindia[6]; but the real management of his Affairs devolved on his Brother Duttajee[7]. Both of these Chiefs as well as Tuccojee [Tukoji] Sindia, the elder son by adoption, were slain at the Battle of Panniput, and the right of succession then remained in Kiddarjee Sindia, the son of Tuccojee the elder brother by adoption; But Mahajee Sindia tho' severely wounded at the Battle of Paniput, had yet effected his escape[8] to Gualier [Gwalior], and found means to seize[9] upon the possessions of his Father in violation of the rights of his Nephew. This gave rise to a long contention between them in which however Kiddirjee tho' at one time supported by all the influence, and power of Rago boy[10] was at length obliged to yield; and his death which happened in the beginning of 1784 has confirmed beyond dispute, to Mahajee Sindia the possession of by far the greatest part of the three fertile provinces of Malwa, Candem [Khandesh], Adjmere [Ajmer].

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1 The Sayyid Brothers elevate to the throne Roshan Akhtar, the son of Jahan Shah and grandson of Bahadur Shah under the will of Muhammad Shah on 9 Oct. 1719. *Burgess* p. 160.

2 Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindia were appointed to the supreme command in Malwa in 1723 (*Rajwade* II, p. 49), and in 1730-31. They were empowered to make settlements with the Chiefs and local Zamindars of Malwa (*SPD. XXX*, pp. 304-6; *Dighe* p. 109). They secured the *Sanad* from the Emperor granting them the right of *Chauth* in the States of Udepur, Medta, Nagor and Ajmer. *Subhedari* of Malwa was made over to them for the purposes of administration (*Sarkar* I, p. 255). Ranoji Sindia moved as far as Sironj, Rajgarh and Patan (*SPD*. XIV, p. 29).

3 Ranoji Sindia died at Shujalpur on 19 July 1745 *Patre Yadi*, L. 49; *SR*. II. L. 277; *Phalke* I, L. 37; *IHRC* XII, p. 110).

4 The controversy as to whether Ranoji had four sons or five is now settled by the publication of the genealogy of the Sindia family found in the official records of Kshirsagar, who was the Secretary of the family. *Rajwade* VI, L. 506; *HG*. p. 157.

5 Jayappa Sindia was assassinated on 25th July 1755 at Tavsar in the siege operations at Nagore. *SPD* II, L. 48; *HD* II, L. 36; *Phalke* I, L. 140; III, L. 325.

6 Jankoji Sindia fell into the hands of Barkhuratar Khan at Panipat. *SPD*. II, L. 148; *Rajwade* VI, Ls. 407, 408.

7 Dattaji fell in action with Najibkhan Rohilla on 10th January 1760. *Rajwade* I, Ls. 142, 146, 165; *SPD* XXI. L. 182, 183; XXIX, L. 56; *Phalke* I, L. 220.

8 Mahadaji returned to the Deccan after the disaster of Panipat after passing through many ordeals. *Rajwade* I, L. 285; *PD*. I, L. 402, 425; *MS* p. 5-6.

9 After the defeat of Nizam in Oct. 1763, the Peshwa Madhav Rao I thought that Shindeshahi must be in the hands of a capable Maratha leader and offered robes of chieftainship to Mahadaji through Naro Shankar. *PMR* I, Ls. 159, 160, 163; *ISPD*. L. 46; *SMR* (M) p. 186 *CD* I, L. 100.

10 Ragoboy = Raghoba = Raghunath Rao, brother of Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao b. 18 Aug. 1734, d. 11th Dec. 1783, he attained great fame for his trans. Indus achievement (1758).

It will easily be imagined that with such extensive possessions Mahajee Sindia could not fail to establish in reality a commanding influence in the State. He did not however acquire any ostensible appointment, and it may perhaps occasion surprise that with such means in his power he should have tamely submitted to that usurpation of the Brahmins, by which, since the time of Shahu Rajah they have exclusively secured to themselves all the principal departments of the Administration. The Truth is Sindia has wisely preferred the Reality to the appearance and in this he seems to have imitated the example of the Brahmins themselves; who tho' they availed themselves of the weakness of the Shahu Rajah to deprive him of the substance of his power, thought it prudent to leave him the Town and still profess a nominal obedience to it[1]. Sindia in like manner, tho' he made no material change in the forms of Government, tho' he suffered Nannah and the others to remain in their obstensible appointments, took such means however, with the solid power he possessed; on some occasions by rendering essential services to the State, as in the reduction of the pretended Bow[2] [Sadashivrao Bhau], and in others by the settlement of their own internal disputes, as in the confinement of Morabah [Moroba Dada Phadnis] and Sicca Ram Bappu[3] [Sakharam Bapu Bokil], that he may be said in a great measure to have possessed himself of the reins of Government. It is indeed curious to observe the variety of Gradations which a respect to form has established in the Maratta Government. About fifty years ago the whole powers of it were centred in one Chief[4]. His indolence and love of pleasure[5] furnished an opportunity to several of his Officers under Colour of the necessity of entrusting the management of Affairs to a Council composed of different departments, to possess themselves of the whole Authority[6]. These offices made hereditary[7] and the principal of them, that of the Peshwa from the weakness of one of the Incumbents and the minority of his successor, became like his immediate superior, the Rajah of Sittarah (Satara), a mere cypher of authority, and gave place to a new usurpation of

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[1] It is not altogether correct to say that Chhatrapati Shahu exercised no authority. In the year 1747, he actually removed Balaji Bajirao from the Office of Peshwa (*AP*. 59, 65). He was reinstated after 2 months. It may also be noted that the actions of the Peshwa after the Death of Shahu were guided entirely by the directives given by the Chhatrapati during his last days. *ASL* IV, L. 5.

[2] Sadashiv Rao Bhau was killed in the Battle of Panipat. But the imposters appeared on the scene. The imposter Bhau was paraded in the city of Poona for everyone to see. He was subsequently put to death. *ALS* VI, pp. 2729-30.

[3] Mahadaji's prestige and arms prevented unrest by the supporter of the pretender. *ALS* VII, p. 3373; *AY* pp. 113-114.

[4] Shahu became the absolute head of the Maratha State in 1708 having all powers of the State centered in him.

[5] Having been brought up in the Mughal Camp, Shahu showed complete inclination towards Muslim manners and customs. *Chitnis*, p. 94.

[6] At the time of Coronation, Shahu appointed a council or an Advisory Body consisting of Ministers for different Departments. Personally Shahu was neither a clever politician nor a capable Commander. He rightly judged men's capacity and gave them free hand without grudge or hinderance. *ISPD* pp. 275-286; *AT* II, L. 5; *Chitnis*, pp. 40-43.

[7] In the course of time, offices of the Ministers became hereditary. In 1750 when Ram Raja succeeded Shahu and was crowned as Chhatrapati on 4, Jan. 1750, he was entirely nerveless, unable to make up his mind and act on his own initiative. Peshwa, in the interest of the State, took over executive power in his own hands from the Chhatrapati. The settlement that was drawn up at Sangola for the future regulation of the Maratha State is famous for transfer of power from the Chhatrapati to the Peshwa. *PD* I, Ls. 321-364; *NR* I, L. 43; *SPD* VI, Ls. 63-67.

power in the person of the Furnavees, another of these hereditary Counsellors[1]. The weakness of such a system enabled Mahajee Sindia to raise a power of his own over all[2], which tho' not supported by any nominal or official Distinction and consequently less ostensible that the others were, yet more real, as being derived from extensive territorial possession[3]. This power has indeed for some time past been suspended in his operation from the extensive foreign objects which has engrossed the possessor of it; but that it once did exist, we know sufficiently from the effects of it which manifested themselves in the salvation of our Army at Tulligaum [Talegaon]; and before the close of this narrative I shall have occasion to show that this relation between Sindia and the Poonah Government may be successfully used as an instrument by the Company either to the advantage or prejudice of Scindia as the circumstances of our connection may hereafter render expedient.

The great object[4] of Sindia in his interposition to save the English Army at Tulligaum[5] from that destruction to which their reduced situation as well as the known disposition of Nannah exposed them, seems to have been the conciliation of the Friendship of so great a power, which operating either directly by its aid or indirectly by its forbearance might afterwards prove of the greatest service in the furtherance of his grand political plans[6]. This conjecture in itself probably receives a confirmation approaching almost to certainly from a knowledge of subsequent events. To what other views can be ascribed his subsequent conduct in his general release[7] of Messrs. Farwer and Stewart; his conclusion of a separate peace[8] with Col. Muir, and the active part he soon after took in the Settlement of a general pacification. An examination of the general Treaty[9] will indeed set in the strongest point of view his own earnest desire to maintain from his close connection with us a decided

[1] Office of Phadnis is just like the office of Accountant General in modern time. His office has to inspect all accounts of public disbursements of every description. This office became hereditary in Peshwa's time. Nana Phadnis succeeded to this office after his father. In the council which was formed after the murder of Narayan Rao Peshwa to look after the Maratha administration in the regency of infant Peshwa, Sawai Madhav Rao, Nana came to the prominence and held the reins of the Maratha Raj.

[2] Nana's weakness was that he was not a commandent. He was therefore entirely dependent on Mahadaji Sindia in military matters. This weakness of Nana gave prominence to Mahadaji Sindia.

[3] Sindia had a territory in North India yielding a revenue of 4 crores of rupees. *Phalke* I, L. 180.

[4] Object of Sindia in having conciliation and alliance with the Company is of fourfold, which is explained in the English Despatch. *SPDD* Vol. 20 of 1779, pp. 191-192.

[5] The British started operations and marched towards Poona. They faced the Marathas at Talegaon and had to withdraw towards Wadgaon because of severity of Maratha attack. The Company's forces were routed. Mahadaji Sindia intervened and brought about peace between the Maratha Council and the English. *Ibid*, pp. 185-187; *ALS* VII, L. 2464.

[6] President of the Bombay Council reviewing Maratha affairs at this time expresses the opinion that the friendliness of Mahadaji towards the English was actuated by certain motives and secret desire to make Nana ineffective in Maratha polity. *SPDD* Vol. 20 of 1779, pp. 190-192.

[7] Capt. Farmer and Capt. Stewart were made prisoners at the battle of Wadgaon and handed over to Sindia. They were both treated with civility and attention. *Forrest* (*MS*) I, p. 376; *SPDD*. Vol. 20 of 1779. pp. 38-39 (Farmer to Bombay).

[8] Treaty between the Sindia and Col. Muir concluded on 13th October 1781. *Aitchison V*. p. 379; *SPDD* Vol. 25 of 1781, pp. 540-543.

[9] A text of the Treaty of Salbai between Peshwa and the British. *Aitchison*, VII, pp. 39-43.

superiority in his own State; and the steps which he took to secure it, as appear throughout the whole treaty but particularly in the Article[1] of it are of so open a nature, and so little calculated to save appearances, that it may not be unreasonable to ascribe to the jealousy which they occasioned in the other Member of the State, the delay which took place in the ratification[2] of it. Another effect however has certainly resulted from it which promises to be attended with the most favourable consequences to the interest of the Company. It has laid the foundation of a distinction of interests between Scindia and the Government at Poonah, and has thrown the balance[3] of power between them into the hands of the English. This effect has already taken place, and as it will not be easy for Sindia, if he should be so inclined, to undo it, the English by a very little management on their part, will always be able to preserve this advantage. But I reserve for a more proper place my observations upon the Treaty, and having promised this much with respect to Sindia. I shall now proceed to give a general view of the situation of affairs at the time when I received charge of my station.

Before the departure of my brother the general Treaty had been carried into execution in all its articles excepting the 9th which related to the compelling of Hyder to evacuate the Carnatic, and from which indeed little seems to have been expected beyond the effects that might result from the promulgation and notoriety of it. In this particular business however several very important steps had been taken, a few days before my brother's departure[4]. He has prevailed upon Sindia to write a letter[5] to Tippoo requiring him in the most peremtory manner to fulfil the terms of the treaty so far as they related to him, and declaring war against him in the event of his refusal and at the same time he concluded with Sindia on behalf of the Poonah Government, an eventual Treaty, by which in case of the necessity of renewing the war against Tippoo, the parties bound themselves to carry it on jointly against him upon various conditions therein specified[6]. Sindia had also made

[1] By Article 16 of the treaty in 1782, Mahadaji Sindia stood guarantee to both parties viz. the British and the Peshwa for the perpetual invariable adherance of it to the condition of this treaty. *Aitchison* VII, p. 42.

[2] Delay in the ratification of treaty took place because Nana wanted to include in it matters pertaining to possession of Salsette, punishment of Haidar and the territory occupied by the Bhosla. He pressed on Mahadaji to induce Anderson for inclusion of these points in the treaty. Nana also wanted Raghoba to be sent back to Poona. These negotiations resulted a delay of six months. *Patre Yadi,* Ls. 209, 214, 216, 346, 350, 352, 353, 386, 394; *HPMS,* L. 208 (dt. 19th Sept. 1782).

Another cause of delay was the opposition made by the Nizam and others to the mediation of Sindia in the dispute between the Marathas and the English (Foreign Department Secret Proceedings dt. 20th January 1783, quoted in *Verma* p. 380). The British ratified the treaty at Fort William on 6th of June 1782 and on Maratha side it was ratified on 20th Dec. 1782. It was made effective on 26th May 1783. *Aitchison* VII, pp. 43-45.

[3] Cf. *HPMS* L. 227.

[4] David Anderson made over the charge of his office to his brother James Anderson on 2nd Nov. 1783 and joined Warren Hastings at Lucknow in Mar. 1784. *PRC* I, (Chronology).

[5] English translation of Sindia's letter to Tipu will be found in *SPDD* Vol. 29 of 1783, pp. 875-879. It was sent by D. Anderson to Bombay Government with his despatch of 24th October 1783.

[6] *See* Article 9 of Salbai Treaty which relates to Hyder but would have been made applicable against his successor Tipu.

a promise[1], in case of his being joined by a detachment of our troops from Cawnpore under the command of Colonel Popham[2] to proceed with him immediately in person against Tippoo ; and it was settled that Colonel Popham who had by orders of the Governor General come to camp to sound Sindia on this subject, should wait at Cawnpore till the Board's final orders might be known on that head.

All these measures my brother thought it necessary to take not less in obedience to the spirit of his instructions than from the possibility of their answering useful purposes hereafter. In these hopes however he was far from being sanguine. Experience had sufficiently shown the difficulties which opposed themselves to the success of so great an object, as that of removing Tippoo from the Carnatick[3], by means of a negotiation carried on at the distance of two thousand miles from the spot[4], and the overture lately made by Tippoo's Vakeels to the Government at Madras seemed to uphold a fair prospect for any easy and speedy conclusion of péace directly with himself. For these reasons altho' my brother in conformity to the general order of the Board, who had recently declared to him their wish to decline any separate Treaty with Tippoo, had entered into all these eventual measures with Sindia against him, yet he stated several circumstances to show that they ought not to be entirely relied on, and that it might be prudent to avail ourselves of any opportunity that might offer of negotiating directly with Tippoo. His reasons are detailed at large in his letter of the 22nd October 1783[5]. In regard to Colonel Popham, the proposal which he was empowered to make, originated from a supposition that as Sindia had succeeded in the reduction of Gualier,[6] he would gladly proceed, if aided by our Troops, against Tippoo, and this measure, it was seen, could not fail of speedily bringing him to our own terms. Sindia readily accepted the offer[7], but the plan was abandoned by the Governor General and Council from a belief seemingly well founded that he had assented to it more with a view to the completion of Schemes of Dominion which he had formed in his own State than the accomplishment of its professed object. If the measure had taken place the dread of its consequences might have accelerated a peace with Tippoo, and that without any of the ignominious

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1 Sindia accepted the British offer and wrote a threatening letter to Tipu telling that he would join the British if the latter would not comply with conditions of the treaty. A copy of this letter of Sindia dt. 21 Oct. 1783 was forwarded to Bombay Council by D. Anderson along with his despatch dt. 24 Oct. *SPDD* Vol. 29 of 1783, pp. 875-879.

2 'Brother of Admiral Sir Home R. Popham : joined the Bengal Army as Captain, 1763 : sent with a force in 1779, to assist the Rana of Gohud against the Mahrattas : took from Sindhia the fort of Gwalior, Aug. 3, 1780'. *DIB*, p. 340.

3 Likelihood of Tipu quitting Karnatak was reported by Capt. W. Sydenham to Brig. Gen. Mathews, in his letter dt. 10th Mar. 1783. *SPDD* Vol. 28 of 1783, pp. 455-456.

4 In negotiating with Tipu, the English wanted to try to separate Tipu from the French. Macartney, the Governor of Madras, therefore, conveyed Tipu's proposals for peace to the Select Committee and these proposals were discussed in the meeting of the Court of Directors at London and decision passed on to the Governor General, *Khan*, pp. 63-66.

5 In this letter D. Anderson gives an account of his discussion with Sindia over Tipu's overture to the English, Tipu's proposal to Nana and complaints against Tipu for not keeping terms of the treaty. *SPDD* Vol. 30 of 1784, pp. 82-90.

6 Gwalior was reoccupied by the Sindia on 1st August 1783. *JC* L. 18, pp. 354-55 ; *SR* II, L. 28.

7 J. Anderson in his letter dt. 11th Jan. 1784 informed the Bombay Council of Sindia's assurances to aid the British if hostilities against Tipu were renewed. *SPDD* Vol. 30 of 1784, pp. 188-189.

circumstances which afterwards attended, the one which was concluded with him; but beyond this possibility, we had nothing to except from it. Sindia had certainly in view from it, the establishment of his own authority at Poonah[1] and he would have had little difficulty by the interposition of delay and other contrivances to have diverted it to this purpose. In this view of the matter, whatever might have been its success remotely and indirectly upon its real object the consequences which in other respects it must have involved are such as afford reason to believe that it is fortunate, the measure was never carried into effect[2].

Little of moment occurred during the two first months of my Residency. On the 9th of November, I received from Bow Bucksey [Bhau Bakshi][3] Bills on a Banker at Broache to the amount of 90,000 Sicca[4] Rupees as a compensation for the houses of the English gentlemen there, which by the cession of the place to Sindia had fallen into his possession, or at least had been rendered useless to their former occupants[5]. I lost no time in transmitting this Bill to Mr. Boddam, who as I had afterwards the satisfaction to learn duly received the whole amount and distributed it to the several claimants in the proportions due to them. On the 26th of November Anindee Bye the sister of Sindia and widow of a Maratta Chief named Nimbolkar arrived in camp,

[1] According to the treaty of Salbai the Peshwa's correspondence intended for the English, was to pass through Sindia. But Nana Phadnis finding the procedure cumbersome and dilatory, decided to have direct dealings with the Governor General. *AT* III, L. 7, p. 11.

This intentional departure from the deliberate procedure stipulated in the treaty of Salbai was supported by the English with a view to minimise the prestige of Sindia at the Poona Court. Boddam, in his letter of 29 April 1784, had already requested Nana to permit one Sayyed Nuruddin Husein Khan to stay in Poona as a representative of the English. *FP,* L. 45 (p. 26).

[2] The British found no necessity of securing the help of Sindia as they started peace discussion with Tipu at Mangalore in the beginning of March 1784. *SPDD* Vol. 30 of 1784, pp. 305-307.

[3] *Bhau Bakshi* : His full name was Sadashiv Rao Malhar. He was one of the principal officers of Mahadaji Sindia. By order of Sindia he visited Hastings at Lucknow (as Sindia's confidential Minister) in May-June of 1784 (*HPMS* Ls. 310, 324; *CPC* VI, Ls. 1140-41). He accompanied Hastings and Prince Jahandar Shah to Beneras (*HPMS,* Ls. 338-9). Even after Hastings' departure for Calcutta he continued to stay with the Prince (*Ibid* L. 369; *CPC* VI, L. 1612). He finally left Lucknow on 2nd October 1785 after taking leave of the Prince and the Vazir (*CPC* VII, L. 340). When Daulat Rao Sindia succeeded Mahadaji in 1794 he appointed Bhau Bakshi as his Dewan which office he held till his death about the beginning of 1802. (*Ibid,* p. 5n).

[4] A variety of rupees had been coined in the Company's territories. The term 'Sicca' had been applied to newly coined rupees, which were at a batta or premium over those worn, or assumed to be worn, by use. *HJ,* pp. 834-35.

[5] D. Anderson informs Bombay Council, dt. 23rd July 1783 that Sindia agrees to compensate for British property in Broach. *SPDD* Vol. 29 of 1783, p. 605; *HPMS,* L. 223, (pp. 280-281).

William Hornby, the Governor of Bombay informed David Anderson and Warren Hastings by letter dt. 7th April 1783 that while Broach was in the possession of the British, the Company's servants and others settled under their protection have established a considerable property in houses and buildings and have likewise debts and other concerns unsettled, all of which will be lost to the proprietors upon the surrender of the place to Mahadaji Sindia, unless due provision has been previously made in the agreement with him. *Gaikwads* III, pp. 129, 131.

William Hornby informed Rawson Hart Boddam (the Governor of Bombay: 1st Jan. 1784 to 7th Jan. 1788) that Mahadaji Sindia sent his officer Bhaskar Rao to settle with the English at Broach a fair and adequate compensation for the property of Broach. *Ibid,* p. 141.

having been met at a distance by Sindia and received by him with great respect and attention. Her journey from the Deccan was not merely from private motives. Some connexion having formerly subjected between her husband and the Nizam, the latter had availed himself of the opening which that circumstance afforded him to give her some instructions about the establishment of a good understanding between him and her brother[1], and she had also a commission to propose to Sindia that he should exert his endeavours with the English to obtain from them payment of the arrears of Tribute due to him for the Sircars. This latter circumstance was not mentioned to me, by Sindia, till several months after; but he did at this time through his Minister Bow Buxey [Bhau Bakshi] communicate to me the general objects of her journey, and he expressed an earnest wish that the Nizam might be included as a principal in the Treaty against Tippoo. This matter had been before hinted to my brother and I adopted his sentiments in my answer that the scheme appeared advisable and that I doubted not but that whenever the matter should be in such a train as to admit of its being stated as a formal proposition, it would be readily acceded to.

Early in December I received from the board a letter in which was enclosed for my information several letters and documents from F. St. George relative to the deputation of Messrs. Sadlier and Staunton to Tipoo, to negotiate and conclude a peace with him[2], and I was left at liberty to communicate or withhold this intelligence from Sindia as might appear to me most advisable. I had no hesitation in preferring the concealment of it. I knew how anxious both Sindia and Nannah were for retaining the negotiation of peace between us and Tippoo in their own hands[3], and as their anxiety on this head appeared to be founded on their wish to implicate with this business several claims of their own which I foresaw must inevitably, retard, if not absolutely oppose the conclusion of it, I was of opinion that a knowledge of our intentions so repugnant to their views would lead them rather to take measures to thwart than to forward them. These reasons as the grounds of the Revolution I had adopted, I submitted to the Board in a letter to them under date the 5th December.

In the course of the month of December, I received from Bow Bucksey by desire of Sindia frequent representations of the great warlike preparations,

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[1] Anandi Bai Nimbalkar, sister of Mahadaji Sindia was the wife of Rao Rambha Maha Rav Nimbalkar, a Maratha Sardar in the service of the Nizam. It was said that she was deputed to her brother by the Nizam with a promise of conferring on her the Jagir of three lakhs if she was successful in her diplomatic assignment. *MDB* I, L. 114 (p. 227); *SMR (U)* II, pp. 223-24.

Letter of March 1784 mentions the details of Anandibai's talk with Sindia regarding a proposal for maintaining friendly relations between the Nizam and Sindia. *HPMS* L. 301.

[2] The Madras Governor Macartney and his Council, had, on the suggestion of Appaji Rau, Tipu's Wakil, appointed on Oct. 31, 1783, Anthony Sadlier, second in Council and Committee of the Presidency, and George Leonard Staunton, private secretary to Lord Macartney to proceed to Mangalore in order to secure the release of the English prisoners of war and to enter into a treaty with Tipu. *Khan*, p. 67.

The Governor General thought that since the Marathas had considerable claims against Mysore, which they wanted to settle before peace was made between Tipu and the Company, their mediation would not only be not helpful; it would in fact complicate the negotiations and delay the peace. *Ibid*, p. 66.

[3] Having promised the friendship to the Marathas the British should have informed the Poona Court about the negotiations for peace between the Company and Tipu. When Nana Phadnis heard about the treaty he became incensed at this sudden conclusion of the hostilities by the British without taking the Marathas into confidence. Nana wanted Mahadaji to convey the displeasure of the Maratha court to Anderson for this breach committed by the British in contravention of the article 9 of the Salbai Treaty. *CPC* VI, L. 1027.

that were making at Poonah to act immediately against Tippoo[1] in case of his evading a performance of the points required of him in the letter lately written to him and of Nannah's anxious desire to be assisted either by a junction of Colonel Charles Morgan's detachment or by a Detachment of troops from Bengal[2]. I had no particular conversation however on this subject with Sindia until near the middle of January, when in consequence of my having communicated to him by order of the Board, some steps that it had been found necessary to take, to secure Mangalore against the treacherous designs of Tippoo he entered into an explanation of his ideas in regard to our future conduct towards Tippoo[3]. The particulars of this conversation I laid before the Board as an accompaniment to my letter to them under date the 13th January 1784. The substance of it was, that we ought not to trust in any shape to Tippoo, as his object in every thing was treacherous. That we ought carefully to avoid any negotiation with him independent of them; that we ought strictly to adhere to the plan already laid down for his reduction in case of his non-compliance with the terms of the 9th Article of the Treaty; and that as Nannah had already on the possibility of hostile measures becoming necessary entered into expensive preparations we ought to lose no time in putting on foot an expedition from the Frontiers of our Bengal Dominions to join them. I assured Sindia in reply that being in a perfect state of preparation, we would carefully guard against the treachery of Tippoo; and that, altho' we might find it necessary to treat with him so far as to give him some assurances of forbearing from hostilities on our part, so long as he adhered to peace on his, yet that he might rest assured that we would make the 9th Article of the Treaty of Salby the basis of any future agreement with him. I endeavoured also to convince him that in case of a necessity for a renewal of hostilities against Tippoo, it might be better for our forces, instead of joining Nannah to act separately; but as he seemed firmly of opinion that a conjunction of our forces would be attended with the most salutary consequences in the impression it would make upon Tippoo from its manifestation of an unity of interests between us, and as this reasoning appeared to me plausible, I stated to him my own opinion that this object might be equally well answered by a Detachment from Bombay to Poonah for to speak candidly, I did imagine that the great expense and length of time necessary for sending an Army from our Frontiers of Bengal would prove inseparable obstacles to a compliance with his or Nannah's wishes on this head. Sindia having agreed with me in this idea, and having in consequence desired to know whether in case of Nannah's application to Bombay for a detachment of troops to act against Tippoo in the event of the renewal of the war against him, it would be granted or not? I did inform him that I could not speak positively as to this point, but saying that it must entirely rest with the Governor and Council at Bombay, that as the measure appeared to me advisable, I would communicate my opinion upon it to them and that he might also write to Nannah advising him to make the experiment. Letters on this subject were accordingly written by Sindia

[1] In the treaty of February 1780 between Haidar and Nana each pledged himself not to make peace with the English without the consent of the other (*NHM*. III, p. 173). The treaty of Mangalore went counter to the treaty of 1780. Since Tipu had violated the treaty of 1780 the Marathas asked for the restoration of the territory south of the Krishna. Nana Phadnis also made warlike preparations and ordered Hari Pant to invade Mysore. *CPC* VI, L. 1027; *HPMS* L. 273; *NHM* III, p. 176.

[2] D. Anderson informed Bombay Council on 13 January regarding Nana's request for British help. *SPDD* Vol. 30 of 1784, pp. 197-198.

[3] Hingne wrote to Nana that the English were not interested in punishing Tipu. *MR* I, p. 115.

and me to Nannah and the Bombay Government, which soon after produced a requisition[1] from Nannah to the Governor of Bombay for a detachment of troops to assist against Tippoo. The Council of Bombay did not think proper to comply[2]. So large a portion of their troops were at that time detached to the Southward[3] as put it in some measure out of their power to make any other Diversion; but their principal objection to the measure seems to have arisen from an apprehension least it should have obstructed the negotiation for peace then carrying on in Tippoo's camp by a deputation from Madras. Certainly peace was at that time an object of such essential moment to the interests of the Company that every obstacle to it was most carefully to be avoided[4]; but I cannot help thinking that the measure in question from the aspect which affairs thus bore was the most likely to have promoted so desirable an end. All the materials and documents then in the possession of the Bombay Government with respect to the progress made in the negotiation by the Deputies from Madrass were of such a nature as gave scarcely any grounds to hope for a favourable issue and surely nothing could be better calculated to have cut short all delay and brought matters one way or other to a certainty, that a junction of our forces with a power which had so many unsettled claims of their own upon him as rendered a war between them sooner or later inevitable. It is true that notwithstanding the unfavourable aspect of the negotiation at Mangalore, a peace was nevertheless concluded at that place in little more than a month afterwards[5]; but had the measure in question been adopted, the same end might have been answered in a more honourable manner, and without entailing any of these painful sacrifices of natural pride which have been the consequence of the unassisted Treaty of Mangalore.

On the 20th January, I had another long conversation with Sindia's minister Bow Buxey, on the necessity of our adopting vigorous measures at this junction against Tippoo. I submitted a full detail of this conversation in my letter under date the 22nd January to the Governor General, and in this place I think it unnecessary to be more particular than merely to mention that I thought it now advisable to communicate to him the Deputation from Madras to Tippoo, a circumstance at which, I foresaw he expressed great uneasiness, I even affected, to consider it as a breach of our Agreement[6]. I was prepared for this and indeed for much disagreeable altercation hereafter on this score, but I was

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[1] Nana seeks British aid. *SPDD* Vol. 30 of 1784, pp. 197-198.

[2] Bombay Council resolved not to entertain Nana's request for troops, (17th Feb. 1784). *Ibid*, pp. 246-50.

[3] The following units of Bombay Army were engaged in Mysore war, Tellicherry, Calicut, Tricalore, Ponnani, Bednur, capture and defence of Mangalore, Honavar, Cannanore during the period 1781-1784 :—

European Regiment : 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 12th (Grenadier Companies), 13th, 14th, 15th, Marine Battallions, 2 Battallions of Grenadier Companies, Artillery. *Cadell*, p. 308 (Appendix A).

[4] The Governor and Select Committee of Madras justified the conclusion of treaty with Tipu by arguing that "our treasury is empty, our credit exhausted, no supply of money from Bengal. Added to this that there is a famine apprehended in Bengal from where we draw the greatest part of our supplies of rice and provisions, an embargo on all grains is laid on these, and our stores here are drained almost to the bottom." *Khan*, p. 67.

[5] Peace was concluded and Treaty of Mangalore was signed on March 11, 1784. *SPDD* Vol. 30 of 1784, pp. 490-491.

[6] According to article 13 of Salbai Treaty, the Marathas were to be consulted by the British in undertaking negotiations with other power. But the latter failed to do so. Anderson considers this as a breach of agreement.

induced to draw a very favourable conclusion of the probability of a speedy peace with Tippoo as well from their uneasiness at the serious steps we were taking to procure it, as their excessive anxiety to lead us into measures in conjunction with themselves of a contrary tendency. It seems evident that they were the Dupes of their own cunning and that by persisting too long in a temporising system, they lost a most favourable opportunity forwarding off, or at least of diminishing the weight of that blow which has since fallen upon them. The causes of their disagreement with Tippoo had long existed, tho' they had for some time past been suspended; they must surely have foreseen as has since happened that a peace between him and the English could scarcely fail of producing a rupture between them. But there is no nation perhaps so subject as the Morattas, in general are, to neglect the future when put in comparison with the present; and from this circumstance we shall often be disappointed, if in our political transactions with them, we rely on their conduct being always guided by their real interest[1].

On the 28th January [1784], Colonel Charles Morgan with the Bengal Detachment from Surat arrived within a mile of Sindia's encampment. Visits were exchanged between them and Sindia by several instances of attention which he shewed on this occasion seemed very desirous of evincing to the world the high value he set on the friendship of the English. I was particularly pleased with the liberality which he shewed in suffering not only the English Officers but even as many sepoys as chose to visit the Fort of Gualier, I believe, I saw as many of our Army in the Fort as might have equalled the Garrison.

On the 14th of February [1784] I had another conversation of considerable length with Sindia in regard to our negotiation with Tippoo, of which I gave due information to the Governor General in my letter of the ensuing day[2]. Little or nothing new passed at this conversation notwithstanding that Sindia had shewn so much anxiety on the subject that he sent a message to me at Binde [Bhind, 24° 30′ N. and 74° 11′ E.] about 40 miles distant where I then was with Col. Morgan requesting that I would come to him as soon as possible, as he had some material communication to make to me. The truth is, as I afterwards learned, he had particular reason to be desirous of my immediately return, and this pretext had been adopted merely for that purpose. The Rannah of Gohile [Gohad] before which place Sindia now lay, being reduced to great distress had availed himself of the halt of Col. Morgan's detachment near Binde [Bhind] to propagate a Report of its being the intention of the English to assist[3] him and my journey to Col. Morgan's camp was adduced as an additional proof of it. This Article availed the Rannah but little. On the 28th February[4] he was compelled to yield to the clamours of his discontented followers and surrender himself up to Sindia, after a contest of more than two years, maintained with great spirit, but with very unequal means. And thus fell a power, which tho' inconsiderable in itself had acquired some

[1] This is a strange apology for the attitude of the English contrary to the Treaty of Salbai.

[2] J. Anderson quotes this letter in his despatch of 20th Feb. 1784 to Governor General. *PRC* I, L. 2.

[3] J. Anderson explains this in detail to Governor General in his despatch of 20th Feb. 1784. *Ibid.*

[4] On 25th Feb. the Rana of Gohad submitted to Sindia and requested for respite of a few days for making a formal surrender of Gohad. Respite was granted by Sindia. *PRC*, I, L. 3; *HPMS* L. 283.

degree of eminence and distinction from its Alliance with the English[1], an of which for this reason, I shall here give some account before I quit entirel the subject.

The Rannah of Gohile is of the sect of Jauts, and is not descended fro an ancient family. His forefather held only a small Zamindarry near Agra and in this State they continued till Beem Seyr [Bhim Singh] the uncle of th present Rànnah, under the countenance of the famous Sooridye Mull [Surajma to whom he had rendered some services[2], was enabled to make considerab encroachments on the Territories of the Rajah of Baroda [Badhwar]. H possessed himself of the Fort of Atthere [Atter] and when afterwards Badge Row [Peshwa Bajirao I] the Moratta Peshwa came into Hindoostan, Beem Se [Bhim Singh] so ingratiated himself into his favour that he assisted him in th reduction of Gohide where he built a new Fort.

About 40 years ago the Marratas under the command of Etal Row [Vith Shivdeo Vinchurkar] laid siege to Gualier. The Mussulman Govern abandoned to his fate by the feeble Court at Dehly, and despairing a successful resistance on the strength of his own resources, chose rather, o certain favourable conditions to himself to deliver up the place to Beem Sy [Bhim Singh], than to the Morrattoes, on whose faith he had no relianc Incensed at this disappointment, Ectul Row retired to Kootah [Kotah, 25° 11′ 75° 51′ E.] where having called in the several Morattoe detachmen acting in Bundelcund, and the neighbourhood, he proceeded again to inve Gualier, where Beem Seyr in an imprudent sally was soon after killed[3]. Bulj the father of the present Rannah, a man of no abilities, succeeding to th Raadge [Raja] was soon after induced from an apprehension for the fate Gohile which the Morattoes had likewise invested, to deliver up Gualier o condition of his being left in the possession of Gohda and the rest of his countr The terms were agreed to and thus the Morattoes acquired the first possessio of Gualier[4].

Buljoor the father of the present Rannah died soon after and left his so a boy about eleven years of age involved in perpetual disputes with the Moratt about the plea of Choute and other exactions which they never wante

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[1] The Rana of Gohad joined the English when Mahadaji Sindia laid siege to Gwali Fort. The interests of Rana were protected by Article 4 of the Treaty (1781) conclud by the English with Mahadaji. "The Maharajah (Sindhia) shall agree not to molest disturb the country of Lokendra Rana Chhatra Singh Bahadur Dilir Jang (of Gohad), n the fort of Gwalior, which is at present in his possession so long as the Rana Sah observes treaty with the English." *Aitchison* V, p. 379.

Gohad was besieged by Mahadaji in June 1782. (*HPMS*, L. 218). It was stormed Feb. 1783. (*Ibid*, L. 43). Siege was continued throughout the year 1783 (*Ibid* L. 154).

[2] Bhim Singh Jat of Gohad helped Surajmal Jat against the Marathas when t Marathas besieged Kumbher. Thereupon the Peshwa ordered Vithal Shivdeo to infl punishment on the enemy even though he is insignificant. *Patre, Yadi*, L. 131 ; *Dig* p. 258.

[3] The Jats insulted the Marathas. Thereupon Vithal Shivdeo invested Gwalior. a pitched battle that ensued, Mahadji Shitole, a Maratha Sardar dashed against the Raja, who fell down from his horse. Thereupon Vithal Shivdeo cut off his head. *SP* XXVII, L. 45, 105 ; *Rajwade* III, L. 949 : *HD* I, L. 2 ; *NR* I, L. 83-84.

[4] Kuwar Balaram surrendered the Gwalior fort to the Marathas and agreed to acc Gohad instead. Thereafter he declared himself a king of Gohad ceremoniously. *NR* Ls. 83-84 ; *SPD* XXVII, Ls. 110, 113.

pretences for asserting[1]. At length about 25 years ago, a large army of Marattoes under the command of Ragonat Row, Mahajee Sindia, Mulhar Holkar, and others invaded his dominions, and having made themselves Masters of all the places in his country excepting Gohde they at length laid siege to it and reduced him to the greatest distress[2]. He was saved however from the ruin which so nearly threatened him by the critical interference in his favour of Mahajee Sindia, who either actuated by a spirit of dissention which often prevailed amongst the different Chiefs of a Morattoe Army, or what was equally common in practice having suffered himself to be diverted from the common cause by the rewards and promises of the enemy, he left the siege with his army and Ragonat Row thus deprived of so large a portion of his force was obliged to relinquish the enterprise[3].

Sindia himself asserts that his conduct on this occasion was prompted by the promises of the Rannah, and he has since often adduced his future failure as an instance of his perfidy and a full reason for his own conduct in prosecuting him to destruction.

The Rannah tho' thus saved from immediate destruction was yet left exposed to perpetual inroads from the Morattoes which he had it sometimes in his power to retaliate upon them. Siyah Dowah [Shuja-ud-daulah] who about 15 years ago had formed the plan of conquering that part of Bundelcund which was subject to the Morattoes, wisely determined in the prosecution of it to avail himself of the enmity which subsisted between them and the Rannah. A treaty was concluded betwixt them, in which the Rannah for certain conditions of advantage to himself, which consisted chiefly in obtaining Sunneds[4] from the King for the territories he then held, and for some others which he laid claim to, agreed to co-operate with the Vizier's Troops in the expulsion of the Marattoes from Bundelcund[5]. The reduction of Jansey Coonch, Bandere [Bhander Pargana, District Gird in the Gwalior State] and some other places in the western side of the Jumma was the fruit of this alliance[6], but the execution of the plan in its full extent was defeated by jealousies which arose between the Rannah and Niheem Cawn [Naim Khan] the officer who commanded the forces of the Vizier then acting in conjunction with him. This alliance

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[1] Jat Rana of Gohad backed by the powerful arms of Jawahar Singh the son of Surajmal formed at this time a strong anti-Maratha coalition and refused to pay Chouth to the Marathas. The Marathas thereupon invaded Gohad Raja's dominion. Raghunath Rao laid seige to Gohad. *SPD* XXIX, L. 12; *ALS* III, L. 720.

[2] In the Maratha chronicles, it is said that Gohad was besieged by the Marathas, but no progress was made for several months as the trans-Chambal Jats strongly supported the Rana of Gohad and Raghunath Rao soon found it difficult to entricate himself from the coalition of the Jats. *SPD* XXIX, Ls. 152, 154; *ALS* II, L. 494; III, Ls. 610, 635.

[3] Several surprise attacks launched by Dada against Gohad ended in failure. The situation was saved by the mediation of Mahadaji Sindia, who arranged an accommodation to the Rana on 2nd Jan. 1767. The Rana agreed to pay a fine of 15 lacs and the siege was raised. *SPD* XXIX, L. 164; *ALS* III, L. 610.

[4] The Chief of Gohad obtained Sanads from the Emperor (*SPD* XXIX, p. 268). After Sept. 1773 the Wazir secured imperial sanction to his scheme of conquest of Bundelkhand and won the friendship of Raja of Gohad for this purpose (*Srivastava* II, pp. 232-233). Raja of Gohad paid visit to Vazir at Etawah and intimated his desire to join the Wazir and the English in expelling the Marathas (*CPC* IV, L. 971).

[5] Naim Khan, a commander of Sabit Kan's battalions, was nominated to undertake the campaign. *Srivastava* II, p. 259.

[6] The sons of Govind Pant Bundele having evacuated the fort of Kalpi and fell back in the interior of the country and proceeded in inflicting a decisive defeat on Naim putting him to flight but instead of occupying the places belonging to the Marathas. Naim retired in great confusion to the indignation of Wazir. *Ibid*, pp. 255-260.

however was of service in raising the consequence of the Rannah and was probably one of the motives which induced the English about eight years ago to seek a similar alliance with him, and which was afterwards attended with the reduction of the important fortress of Gualier[1], and various other consequences too well known to require a Recital here. It is sufficient to observe that the Rannah having conducted himself throughout the whole of his connection with us in so perfidious a manner, as withdrew from him every claim to our protection was left to his own fate in the contest which ensued between him and Sindia[2]. This contest orginated from some claims which the Morattoes had upon the Rannah and particularly for the Fort of Gualier[3], but these having been at first rejected by the Rannah, a war ensued between them, which as generally happens, was not limited in its operation to the mere objects which gave rise to it, but was suffered to take its utmost course. It terminated, as has been already related in the complete reduction of the Rannah on the 28th February 1784, by which even Sindia, acquired an additional Territory of about 30 lacks annually[4]; of which however the value was greatly enhanced by their connected situation with his own Dominions but above all by their containing the strong Fort of Gualier which besides serving as a strong barrier on his Frontier gave him, as it were, an entrance into the provinces of Agrah [Agra] and Dehly [Delhi] of which he has since so successfully possessed himself. It may be here proper to observe that these conquests of Sindia tho' entered into by him rather with a sufferance of the Poonah Government which probably could not be withheld from him than with any express approbation, were nevertheless confirmed to him as an addition to his Jaghire, excepting however the Fort of Gualier and some Mohals immediately depending on it, which the Peshwa affected to reserve to himself and to commit to Sindia only in charge as Mukassedar or Governor of it.

To prevent any future interruption to the narrative, I shall here bring down the History of the Rannah to its latest period. Having surrendered to Sindia on no other engagement than that of personal safety and promises of a suitable provision, he was permitted to remain with his family, and a few attendants in a separate place near the camp; and Sindia furnished him with a settled sum for his daily maintenance until something else could be struck out for him[5]. In this state he remained until the middle of July when either from a distrust of Sindia, or a wish to regain his former independence, he took an opportunity to escape and fled to the Rajah of Hirowley[6] [Karauli]. This

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[1] The fort Gwalior was captured by the British on 8th August 1780. *JC*, L. 2.

[2] After the capture of the fort Gwalior by the British it was made over to the Rana unconditionally in the hope that Rana would supply the provision of grain to the English. Col. Muir got disappointed on this. He says, "Rana laughs at all our demands and promises fair with determined resolution to perform nothing". *PRC* (*EV*), L. 45.

[3] In 1768 Rana of Gohad was asked to remit a tribute of five lakhs rupees and serve the Maratha cause. He refused to do so. *SPD* (*NS*), III, L. 155.

Similar demand was made in 1780. But the Gohad Rana became more turbulant and ravaged the territory belonging to the Marathas. Thereafter the Maratha Sardars, Shivaji Vithal, Balwant Rao Dhonddeo etc. recovered the places from the Gohad Rana. *MR* I, L. 1.

[4] The Revenue of Gwalior Prant which was ceded by the Rana of Gohad was at Rs. 65,00,000 (*JC*, p. 290). But Rana's territory confiscated by the Sindia was shown yielding the revenue of 3,00,000 (*SR*. I, L. 315). Nana's vakil with Sindia gives details of the territory acquired by Sindia from the Rana of Gohad. *AT* V, p. 9.

[5] Cf. *PRC* I, L. 4.

[6] Description of Rana's escape with the active help of the Raja of Karauli is given in letter dated 8th March 1784. *HPMS* L. 289. (Karauli State is in the east of Rajputana, lying between 26° 3′ and 26° 49′ N. and 76° 34′ and 77° 24′ E.).

petty Chief who lay entirely at the mercy of Sindia and who had been often subjected to heavy contribitions by him, taking advantage of the various other avocations of Sindia refused to deliver up the Rannah to him until some months afterwards when alarmed for his own safety, from the great success of Sindia, he thought proper to comply[1]. The Rannah was brought to camp, some time in the ensuing November and from thence immediately sent to Gualier[2], a place from whose bourns no traveller ever returns. A confinement in this place is considered as final and frequently upheld in Terrorism by Sindia when anxious to enforce the surrender of Treasure to such as resist other means of coercion. The Rannah by the last accounts was still alive but said to bear with great impatience his confinement.

Before the end of March the Governor General who had left Calcutta in February arrived at Lucknow[3]. Sindia was very desirous of having had an interview with him, and make some indirect overtures to that effect; but they were with all the delicacy possible discouraged by the Governor General, who foresaw that such a circumstance might suggest to other the idea of his engaging in objects foreign from those which had furnished the occasion of his journey. It was therefore determined by Sindia to depute to him Bow Buxey [Bhau Bakshi], but several circumstances intervened to prevent him from beginning his journey till near the end of May, when in consequence of the previous permission of the Governor General, I accompanied him to Luckknow[4]. I shall here relate without any connection, or attention to dates the few occurrences which took place during this interval.

It was not until the 28th April that I received accounts of the peace with Tippoo, and for some time before that, as will appear by the letters I wrote to the Governor General, during the months of March and April, I had received frequent remonstrances from India [Sindia] through his minister Bow Buxey, against our separate negotiation with Tippoo[5], at a time when Nannah in the spirit of the Marratoe Treaty was making great military preparations[6] to enforce in case of necessity for it his compliance with these terms to which they had engaged to bring him.

In the event of our concluding a peace with him, these preparations entered into in support of our measures would be resented by Tippoo, and perhaps affecting to consider them as a breach of their engagement with him, he might seize them as a pretext to justify his refusal to comply with the claims which they had upon him. When these and such like remonstrances had been before frequently made to me I need not say that the intelligence of our treaty with Tippoo was received by Sindia with great dissatisfaction[7] and many complaints of the unfriendly disposition shewn to their Government in having entirely neglected them and even avoided to make any mention of them whatever in the Treaty[8].

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[1] Cf. *HPMS* L. 351.

[2] Cf. *SR* I, L. 94.

[3] Warren Hastings arrived at Lucknow on the morning of the 27th March 1784. *Forrest (FD)*, III, p. 16.

[4] (Bhau) accompanied J. Anderson to Lucknow. *CPC* VI, L. 1101

[5] Substance of these letters is found mentioned under date 13th July 1784. *Ibid*, L. 1208.

[6] Nana received the news that Tipu's Sardar Burhanuddin besieged Nargund with an intention of occupying it. He ordered Parshuram Bhau Patwardhan to hasten to the relief of Nargundkar and despatched Ganesh Pant Behere with 5000 troops to join him. *ALS* VIII, Ls. 2813, 2815, 2824 and p. 2897.

[7] Cf. *HPMS* L. 310.

[8] Cf. *Ibid* L. 305.

Foreseeing that these or such like complaints would be made by Sindia, the Governor General had previously endeavoured to reconcile him to the peace by writing him a letter on the occasion[1], in which he ascribed the primary merit of it to his exertions. Still however Sindia was not satisfied, and he expressed a wish to obtain from the English Government a formal declaration in writing, certifying that the peace with Tippoo had been effected by the mediation and endeavors of the Morattoe Government[2]. This was one of the points given in charge to Bow Buxey on his deputation to Lucknow, but was refused by the Council to whom the Governor General referred it[3].

The Governor General in consequence of some instructions from the Court of Directors, acquainted me of his wish to depute an English Resident to Poonah[4], but being aware that this measure would be disagreeable to Sindia, he enjoined me to exert my utmost endeavours to procure his acquiescence in it; and with this view he furnished me with several arguments and communications which he thought might have an effect in removing his objections to it. These however and every other means I could devise were employed by me to no purpose. All that could be obtained from Sindia was an acquiescence so limited in its nature, and so clogged with conditions as made it equivalent to a refusal. There is no point in which he shewed more tenaciousness than that of excluding us from any connection with the Government of Poonah, and it is not easy to ascribe this conduct to any other principle than the high value he sets on the friendship of the English and the dread of losing it by the opportunity which this measure would afford to his enemies at Poonah to deprive him of it. The Governor General tho' he did not chuse to reliquish entirely the plan, yet yielded so far to Sindia's objections as to suspend its execution for the present, but having been again resumed and carried into execution, I shall have occasion to be more full on the subject hereafter.

In consequence of some intelligence which had been transmitted by Major Browne[5] to the Governor General regarding the Seiks [Sikhs] which seemed to indicate the probability of their invading the Vizier's territories in the Doab, I was instructed to communicate on this subject with Sindia and to learn his sentiments regarding the best mode of counteracting these schemes,

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[1] Cf. *Forrest* (*FD*) III, p. 1094.

[2] The contents of Mahadaji's letter have been conveyed to Nana by the Vakil of Nana. *HPMS* L. 329.

[3] The Governor General Warren Hastings urged upon the Board in his letter dt. 26th June 1784 to authorise him to send to Sindia a written declaration that the treaty was in every respect conformable to that of Salbai and "that necessary modification would be made to that effect". *Forrest* (*FD*) III, pp. 1104-5.

[4] Fully alive to the implications of Nana's envoy's reference to have British Resident at Poona the acting Governor General Macpherson in his letter of 27th July 1784 cautiously explained to the Sindia the necessity of this appointment "in the interest of the expeditious disposal of public business". *CPC* VII, L. 286.

Accordingly Malet was directed to see Mahadaji Sindia on his way to Poona (*CPC* VII, Ls. 378-379). Addressing Nana on the appointment of Malet, Macpherson made a pointed reference to the cordial relations that subsisted between the English and the Marathas and further assured that he would prove the English to be the best friends of the Marathas. *FP* I, L. 66 (p. 39).

[5] Joined East India Company's service in 1765, became Major soon; became Lt. in 1788, wrote *India Tracts;* Resident at Delhi, 1782: recalled when Warren Hastings left for England, 1785; died on 22nd June 1792. *Browne*, pp. iv, xi.

It was reported to Nana that Major Browne who was with the Emperor at Lucknow came to Delhi on the pretext of spending one month's leave in Dec. 1783. The writer indicates that he was in reality deputed to Delhi by the G. G. to bring the prince to Lucknow. *MR* I, L. 101; *PRMH*, I, B 16.

and of putting it out of their power to make any future inroads into the Vizier's Territories[1]. Sindia did not at all enter into these views but affected to consider the matter lightly, by observing that the Seikhs being merely a despicable body of plunderers were not worthy of any serious consideration, and he seemed studiously to wave the subject. It is not unlikely that Sindia who at this time had fully planned[2] his usurpation of the Person of the King and who had been exceedingly alarmed at the appearances which arose from Major Browne's negotiations of a similar intention on our part[3]. was inclined to consider this communication regarding the Seiks as an introduction to our other project, and that in this idea he was led to avoid any discussion upon it. Be this as it may, the Governor General did not like this appearance of Reserve in return for his confidence, and combining it with this suspicious intelligence regarding the conduct of Sindia, which he almost daily received from Major Browne, he seemed to think that we should come to some explanation with him on the subject. With this view he furnished me with extracts of Major Browne's letters and though he [Bakshi] professed in strong term his disbelief of the general tenor of his intelligence regarding the perfidy of Sindia, yet as he could not regulate the belief of others by his own, it was necessary he thought that I should mention these circumstances to Sindia that he might be furnished with the means of refuting them. He also communicated to me the circumstances of the flight of the King's eldest son from Dehly[4] and of the necessity under which the Vizier and he had been of receiving him at Lucknow, all of which he wished me to make known to Sindia that I might receive his sentiments on the occasion.

In consequence of these instructions I had several conferences with Bow Bucksey, and Mahajee Sindia on the above mentioned subjects, which are particularly detailed in my letter to the Governor General of the 16th May[5]. He not only disavowed all the suspicious circumstances ascribed to him, but used such arguments in his own vindication as were perfectly satisfactory. It is not however unlikely and is indeed, perfectly consistent with his usual craft and cunning[6] that he may have authorized his Agents at Dehly, in order more effectually to impose upon the Ministers there, and to lead them into the snares he had laid for them, to give them assurances of his hostile intentions to the Vizier[7]. It is much more likely however that the Mogul Ministers saw too clearly into the real intention[8] of Sindia and from a conviction that

[1] Governor General's minute of 4 Dec. 1784 and Macpherson's minute are on the subject. *Forrest (FD)* III, pp. 1124-25; *MR* I, L. 103; *PRMH* I, B14c.

[2] When Mahadaji was busy besieging Gohad he assured his help to the Emperor through Anupgir Gosain (*MR* I, Ls. 101-4). Mughal sardars at Delhi Court had also invited Mahadaji. *AT* IV, L. 28.

[3] Hastings visit to Lucknow and Browne's activities in Delhi aimed at the possession of the Emperor are explained in detail in Marathi Records. *HPMS* Ls. 305, 318, 326.

[4] Mirza Jawan Bukht, the heir to the throne fled away with hundred Gujar horsemen according to secret correspondence of Hastings with him. *PRMH* I, B16.

[5] This letter will be found in *PRC* I, L. 15.

[6] Mahadaji's craft and cunning are explained by Sadashiv Dinkar, Nana's envoy with Mahadaji Sindia. *HPMS* L. 293.

[7] His Chief Councellor was Gosain Himmat Bahadur who was in Sindia's confidence.

[8] Gosain Himmat Bahadur who had been with Sindia became Afrasiyab's Chief Counceller who kept urging his new patron to bring Sindia to court. *HPMS* L. 311; *Sarkar* III, p. 272.

Sindia on his part wrote to the Emperor saying that he would come to Delhi to be at his disposal. *Ibid.*

their only change of safety lay in his embroilment with the English, had with that view fabricated the several suspicious circumstances, which, upon their authority were transmitted by Major Browne to the Governor General[1].

These circumstances however seem to have made a very serious impression on Major Browne, who not contented with a bare communication of them to the Governor General, expressed his own belief of them in the strongest terms, and repeatedly foretold that if we lost the present opportunity of an alliance with the Moguls, we must expect, and that in a very short time, a combination of them and the Morattoes against us[2].

In all his reasoning on this subject, there appears much illiberal acrimony towards Sindia, and a systematic predilection throughout in favour of his own schemes. Sindia was not ignorant of this indisposition of the Major towards himself for he had openly manifested it by the advice which he had given to Mirza Suffy[3], and afterwards to Afrasiab[4] Cawn to avoid any connection with him, and I recollect that some months afterwards, the inference which he [Mahadaji] drew from it was used by him as an argument against the deputation of Mr. Malet to Poonah, for on my assuring him that this measure had been adopted merely in conformity to the orders from home, and could not possibly be prejudicial to him, as Mr. Malet would be instructed in every thing to follow his [Mahadaji's] advice; he observed that such might be the orders of the board, but that he had already seen in one instance, [alluding to Major Browne] the Anxiety of the English Gentlemen to follow new schemes[5] of their own in preference to the old, and that as a conduct of this kind appeared to be the natural result of a desire of distinction common to every one, at being apparently more creditable to rear a new scheme than to support an old one, he foresaw that however favourable might be the intentions of the Board, the measure must inevitably prove prejudicial to them.

In regards to the flight of the prince, Sindia affected to consider it lightly[6], and said, that since it had taken place, he saw no other remedy than that of our giving him a decent and suitable maintenance[7]. He added that he had received similar letters from the Prince to those which had been sent to the Governor General stating that he had taken this step with the knowledge and advice of his

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[1] Browne's letter to Governor General. *Browne*, L. 65. See also review of Browne's policy towards Delhi. *Forrest (FD)* III, pp. 1087-90.

[2] Letter No. 70, dt. 29th March 1784. *Browne*, p. 143-4. By Sindia's deplomacy and by Browne's interpretation of it to the Company, Sindia became a cause of great concern to the Supreme Council. *CPC* VI, L. 1596.

[3] Sindia met Wazi Mirza Shafi before Afrasiyab on 27th June 1783. *MR* I, L. 104.

[4] Afrasiyab appeals to Sindia to save the crumbling Imperial State. *Sarkar* III, p. 277.

[5] Browne advocates the policy contrary to the one adopted by Governor General. Cf. *Browne*, L. 78 (pp. 157-161).

[6] Delhi Court negotiated with Sindia to prevent the English taking advantage of the fact of Jawan Bakht being in their camp. *PRMH* I, B18.

[7] Jawan Bakht was with the English for a short period. But after Mahadaji Sindia took possession of the person of the emperor, Hastings sent back the prince to Mahadaji with Sadashiv Malhar with a promise from Sindia that he would secure the emperor's pardon for the Prince. *PRMH* I, B21b (p. 151); *HPMS* L. 344.

Prince was brought to Sindia's camp under the protection of Sadashiv Malhar. *Forrest (FD)*, III, pp. 1020-24; *MR* I, p. 118.

father, but that he paid little attention to them, as he knew the prince had been for some time past at variance with the king, and that he had even made an attempt upon his life.

I left Sindia's camp which then lay at Gohde [Gohad] with Bow Buxey towards the end of May, and arrived at Lucknow early in June [1784]. There were three points concerning which Sindia expressed himself to be particularly desirous and which he gave in charge to Bow Buxey to negotiate for him. These were-1st. That he might be furnished with a declaration in writing from the English Government, certifying that the peace with Tippoo was the effect of the exertions made by the Morattoe Government of the Treaty of Salbey[1]. 2nd. That we should settle through him the claim upon us by the Nizam from the arrears of Peshcush or tribute due on account of the Sircars. This requisition he said he was induced to make because he had some time ago through his sister Annindee Bye, and more lately by a vakeel expressly deputed by the Nizam been informed, that when the treaty of Salbey had been sent by the Peshwa to Nizam Ally, he observed that it was extremely proper, but that as the Peshwa had included him as his friend, and likewise had engaged for his adherence of friendship to the English, it was but just that the Peshwa should settle for him the claims he had upon the English which he explained to be for arrears of tribute on account of the Sircars. 3rd. That he might be furnished with a written declaration that neither the English nor the Vizier would ever interfere either directly or indirectly in the affairs of the Sultanat.

None of these points were acceded to. The first was referred by the Governor General to the Board, who refused their compliance, on the principle, I believe of its not being true; for whatever merit might be due on this occasion to Sindia, the Poonah Government by their evasive and dilatory conduct had justly forfeited all claim to any share of merit in the pacification with Tippoo. If we had made the acknowledgement, we should have found it difficult afterwards to have justified our refusal to assist them in the war which ensuied between them and Tippoo, and Sindia's object in this point seems evidently to have made it the ground of such a demand hereafter. In regard to the 2nd point, Sindia was informed that we had a Resident with the Nizam and the Governor General agreed to write to Mr. Johnson on the subject. The third article was positively refused. The Governor General assured Bow Buxey that he had no view of interference at Dehly, but that it was not compatible with the dignity of any Government to restrict itself in the manner here proposed. He wished however that Sindia would candidly communicate to him what his own views were; and in that case he promised to do every thing in his power to prevent the Vizier from interfering in any manner that might clash with them. But Sindia was too suspicious of our intentions at this time to enter into any such explanation, and indeed his objects were too various and extensive to have admitted of any exact specification. I will here however quote an extracts from my Diary of the 9th of May 1786, which will clearly shew that Sindia's ideas formerly were and what they are in a great measure still with respect to himself and the English in Hindoostan.

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[1] Cf. *HPMS* L. 310.

9th May 1786.—This morning Bow Bucksey came to me and having informed me that as Sindia had in the preceding day stated to me the necessity there would be for the Vizier's giving him some assurances of a peaceable conduct in case of his return to the Deccan,[1] he had therefore of himself caused a paper to be drawn out in persian which he gave me to read. It was in the form of a Currar Namma or Agreement to be executed by the English, stating that as Sindia had been the means of accomplishing a peace between us and the Peshwa; and as their Government had seated the King on the throne and performed other much important services, as entitled them to an absolute and exclusive right of interference in the affairs of His Majesty, we agreed therefore never to take any part in them. He then shewed me a counterpart to this agreement which Sindia was willing to execute in which he bound himself to avoid any interference relative to the Vizier. The Bow added that this was no new matter, that Sindia had before indirectly proposed it to my brother and that even now altho' for the sake of additional security he had expressed a wish for a specific agreement, yet that he did consider us at any rate to be bound to the observance of such a conduct from the spirit of the Treaty of Salbey. On my desiring to know from what parts of treaty he drew such a conclusion he replied that we had only mentioned two Chiefs in the Treaty as our friends and allies, and that consequently all the other Chiefs of Hindoostan, of right, belonged to them, I observed that altho' I did not admit the consequences which he attached to the mere mention of a Chief in the treaty as the friend and ally of either party; yet that I might with equal propriety maintained that because they had only mentioned three Chiefs, all the rest belonged of right to us. In answer to this he first observed that the words *oo gheyrah* (वगैरे) corresponding with et cetera, were written after the specification of these three chiefs; but on examining the Treaty, and finding that it was not so, he laid hold of the 11th Article in which we agree not to afford assistance to any nation of Deccan or Hindoostan at enmity with the Peshwa, and by which he said, we were bound not to assist any of Chiefs of Dehly, I observed that we had no knowledge of any of these Chiefs being at enmity with the Peshwa and that the Governor General in order to prevent the possibility of our views clashing with those of Sindia had candidly stated to him his own, and had expressed a wish that Sindia should communicate to him his. He replied that they had Sunnuds [Sanads] for merit, and other Pergunnahs [Pargana] and also for Sindia's holding the office of Buxey [Bakshi], yet the services they had rendered the King in the seating him on the throne and the assistance they had afterwards afforded Nudgif Cawn [Najib Khan], gave them a right to claim of too general a nature to admit of any exact specification. The Goiro[2] views he said were limited entirely to the safety of the Vizier's territories, and Sindia declared that he would be answerable for their safety and, would himself prevent any attack against them an immediate commencement of hostilities against any power whatever that might harbour such intentions; and if the Governor General would accede to the Agreement proposed.[3] he was sure Sindia would readily on his part enter

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[1] Sindia's plan to return to the Deccan is hinted by Anderson in his letter dt. 16th May 1785. *PRC* I, L. 25.

[2] *Gairo* (गैरे) *views* means the matter covered by "etc." as explained below in the body of the text.

[3] The negotiations that took place between Bhau Bakshi and J. Anderson do not seem to have been reduced to a treaty. These negotiations find no place in any other contemporary records so far known.

into an engagement to the effect he had mentioned, for whenever we stipulated the maintenance of our friendship to any Allies of theirs, it was an implied engagement on their part to be security for their perpetual friendship towards us. He added that Sindia had some right to expect our ready acquiescence in this point as he had himself sacrificed claims to the amount of 60 Lakhs annually which he had on the Vizier's country, purely from his friendship towards us.

I have given this quotation at large as it will set in a clear point of view the general objects of Sindia. He has often expressed a wish for an offensive and defensive alliance between the English and *Morattoe* (Maratha) Governments, upon the principles explained in the above extract. According to his ideas there are only two capital powers in Hindoostan viz. the English and the Morattoes; all the rest being in some shape or other ranged under their patronage or protection such as the Vizier and Mahommad Ally under ours and Tippoo, the Nizam, and in short all the other powers under theirs. In this situation, it appears clearly from their common interest to unite, that they may thus overawe and restrain their respective Dependants or that in case of necessity by materially calling on each other for aid, they might easily reduce them to order. In a word it is his wish to divide, as it were, Hindoostan between us, and to secure to each other the maintenance of their respective shares by mutual stipulations of assistance in case of need. The outlines of this plan may I think be faintly traced in the Treaty of Salbey in which we have classed and arranged our respective allies, and there was no point in the negotiation of it, to which Sindia yielded with such reluctance, as the admission of the Vizier's name in the list of your allies, by which according to his own account, he has virtually sacrificed claims of himself and Government to the amount of 60 laks of Rupees annually. The Negotiation hung upon this point for more than a month and in yielding to it Sindia seemed to think that for so great a sacrifice on his part, we had tacitly agreed on ours never to interfere with him in the prosecution of his schemes against the King or other powers. He seems indeed to have a natural right to expect that if he and his Government submit to our exclusive patronage and protection of the Vizier, we ought to suffer them to maintain a similar right of management in the affairs of the King; and if the delicacy of this matter would admit of its being stated as a formal proposition, I am convinced that there is nothing to which Sindia would more cheerfully and heartily give his assent. My sentiments however on the propriety or impropriety of adopting either in whole or in part these views of Sindia, will be more properly introduced hereafter; and having thought it necessary to be thus particular in my explanation of Sindia's third point, I will now resume my narrative.

The object of Sindia in the deputation of Bow Bucksey to Lucknow[1] was professedly to congratulate and compliment the Governor General, on his arrival there, but was in reality intended to sound and discover how far he was inclined to take a part in the arrangement of the King's affairs, of which the flight and escape of the prince, lightly as he affected to treat it, had made him uncommonly apprehensive. Bow Bucksey's failure in the three points[2]

1 It seems Bhau Bakshi was deputed to Lucknow sometime after the escape of the Prince from Delhi on 14th April 1784 and before 26th July on which date Anderson left Lucknow.

Warren Hastings' stay at Lucknow was from April to the latter part of August (1784). *Trotter,* p. 193.

2 Anderson mentions these points at *PRC* I, p. 48.

already mentioned was amply compensated by the success with which he dre into Sindia's hands the whole management of the Governor General's plans wit respect to the Prince. It is necessary in order to convey a clear idea of th matter that I should explain the plans which the Governor General had fir adopted regarding the prince.

The flight of the King's eldest son to the English was an event which at fir gave rise to much speculation in Hindoostan, and was conceived to have bee either the result of preconcerted scheme between us,[1] or to have preceded fro the secret wishes and desire of his father.[2] These opinions were neither c them just. The prince without any previous intimation to us, and totall uncertain as to the reception intimation he might meet with, formed th Resolution of throwing himself upon us, and executed it in the manner he ha himself described, in his narrative to the Governor General[3]. He has himse declared that he was prompted to this step by the desire and wishes of h father[4] and whether true or false, nothing could have been more prudent an wise than such an assertion as nothing could have tended more to interest th English and the Vizier in his favour. But the truth is, as far as I have bee able from the opportunities I have since had to learn it, that hi father had no knowledge of his intentions and was long afterwards exasperate on account of them.[5] His own account however was so extremely plausibl that the Governor General could not doubt it, and no inference was to b drawn against it from the displeasure and indignation of the King[6], as it wa well known that he was in a state of Thraldom which often constrained hi to use a language very different from his own. This was indeed clearl instanced at the time, by the deputation of Major Browne to Lucknow,[7] wh was furnished with two different sets of instruction[8], which tho' they bot concurred in reprobating our reception of the Prince, did yet in regard to othe points differ most essentially from each other, and were supposed to speak th

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[1] It is mentioned in the introduction to *Browne's Correspondence* that there is n evidence to support the statement of the Persian Chronicler (*Ibrat Namah*, p. 52 c translated copy) that Hastings had invited him (*Browne*, p. viii). Firstly *Ibrat Nama* (English translation) does not make any mention of having a support of the English to th flight of the Prince. It gives date of his escape from Delhi (*Ibrat Namah* II, 76).

But in Marathi letter, Mahadaji writes to Nana, "The English instigated th Shahazada to escape from the capital and seek English protection at Lucknow (*HPM*, p. 438).

[2] This does not seem to be correct. The Prince asserts in his letter to the King th he had taken this step with a view to improving the administration of the royal affair *CPC* VI, L. 1103.

[3] Mention of this narative is made by Warren Hastings in his letter to the Counc Fort William, dated 26th May 1784. *Forrest* (*FD*) III, pp. 27-28.

[4] The King refuted this assertion made by the Prince in his letter dt. 16th May 178 and asked the Prince to return to Delhi and offer his submission. *CPC* VI, L. 1103.

[5] See King's letters in *CPC* VI, Ls. 1107-8, 1119.

[6] The King had expressed his annoyance over the Prince's flight. *Ibid*, Ls. 1107, 113

[7] Major Browne must have come to Lucknow before the 10th of June 1784. Vi *Browne*, L. 82.

[8] These instructions are given in the draft of a treaty proposed by the King Sha Alam and a letter from Nawab Afrasiyab Khan proposing a treaty of friendship. *CPC* V Ls. 1123-24,

private and the public sentiments of the King, or in other words the sentiments of himself and his minister.[1]

The interest which the Governor General was naturally led to feel for a prince, who had so generally exposed himself to danger, and encountered hardships from a wish to relieve the distresses of his father was much increased by the frequent personal communications[2] he had with him, in which he gave the most pathetic descriptions of the miseries of his father, and dwelt upon the credit which the English would acquire from his relief. Moved by these circumstances, and being perfectly convinced that the Prince spoke the real wishes of his father, he determined to use every means in his power to effect his restoration at the Court, on such a footing as without involving the English Government either in hostilities or expense, might yet at once ensure safety to the prince and answer the interests of his father. With this view having consulted with Major Browne he furnished him with instructions[3] to effect these purposes, and towards the end of June again deputed him to the King. The leading objects of Major Browne's instructions as set forth in the preamble to them were—First to effect the return of the Prince on such a footing as might assure to him his personal attendance on the King with the means of safety both for the King and himself. Secondly, to obtain the like security for Afrasiab Cawn against any attempts that might be made to deprive him of his present command, Offices, or personal security. And thirdly, to accomplish these ends that the engagement concluded for the purpose of them may not involve the Company in hostility with any of the permanent States of Hindoostan, or Deccan, or in Expence, whether present or eventual. It was imagined that this engagement for the security of Afrasiab Cawn, would in the precarious station he held, be deemed an object of such magnitude to him, as would easily induce him to accede to all these points in favour of the prince which his real interest might otherwise lead him to oppose.

When the deputation of Major Brown and the objects of it were made known to Bow Bucksey, he seemed uneasy at it and proposed that the negotiation should rather be entrusted to Sindia. The reasons[4] which he gave for it are here subjoined from a minute of them, which my brother took on the occasion.

The Government of Dehly is very unsettled. In the course of two or three years it has had a variety of Chiefs ; even at this moment it is divided. There is Afrasiab Cawn, Nudjif Cooley Cawn, and Mahomed Beg Humdanny ; and it is difficult to say who is the Chief. The Chiefs of Dehly are so notorious for this unsteadiness and infidelity that no faith can be put in them. With a Government so circumstanced, the English should avoid entering into treaties, because treaties are regarded by them in a very solemn light, they consider them as permanent. They revenge every deviation from them on the other

1 Mahadaji Sindia was informed, " Major Browne's arrival with the orders of his Majesty and the proposals made by Nawab Afrasiyab Khan and again his return to Delhi with replies from the Governor General to the King and the Nawab have already been communicated to Bhau Bakshi who must have informed Sindia of all those particulars." *Ibid,* L. 1169.

2 The Governor General's proceedings relating to the Prince Mirza Jawan Bakht give detailed information on this point. *Forrest (FD)* III, pp. 1026-27.

3 Details of instructions are contained in a letter from Warren Hastings to Browne dated 27th June 1784, *Browne,* L. 85.

4 The points raised in this minutes are mentioned by Warren Hastings in his proceedings dated 1st Dec. 1784. *Forrest (FD)* III, pp. 121-28.

side ; and on their part, under whatever circumstances are obliged to perform what they have engaged. Considering these principles on the one hand, and the character and situation of Dehly Chiefs on the other, it appears that a treaty concluded directly between the English and Afrasiab Cawn would only be productive of embarassments and disputes. The principles of the Morattoes are more accommodating. They have had several with the Dehly Chiefs, and according to circumstances they either enforce them or suffer them to lie dormant.

It is possible that the present plan of negotiation may not succeed. The Dehly Chiefs will take advantage of our negotiating separately from Sindia to play the one against the other, if possible, to produce misunderstandings and at all events to create delays.

If the business is left to Sindia he will easily effect it. On any occasion his influence is sufficient to accomplish his views at Dehly ; but on the present occasion, acting in behalf of the English, and with their support it cannot fail. If it be left to Sindia, it will tend greatly to increase his name with his own State and the neighbouring power. It will make an Union of Interests between the English and him and will greatly strengthen the connection at present subsisting between us ; and it will be an effectual method of obviating any apprehensions or jealousies which might otherwise be entertained by the powers of the Deccan. If on the strength of these reasons we will communicate our wishes to Sindia, he will engage for the acquiescence of the Chiefs at Dehly, and for their future adherence to them.

These reasons appearing to the Governor General to be perfectly solid and convincing, he gave Bow Buxey permission to write to Sindia on the subject, which soon produced an answer from him,[1] in which, after intimating his intention to visit his Majesty at Agrah,[2], he made an offer of his services in mediating the prince's return to Court on a safe and honourable footing. These were immediately accepted, and the change which this occasioned in the negotiation, was announced to Major Browne in the form of additional instructions which were transmitted to him under date the 23rd of July (1784).[3] I was ordered at the same time to proceed without delay to Gualier, to be in readiness to accompany Mahajee Sindia on his intended journey ; and I was furnished by the Governor General with particular instructions for my guidance on this occasion.

It may be here necessary to observe that this devolution of the negotiation upon Sindia occasioned only a change in the mode and not in the essential nature of it. By the present plan Sindia was permitted to take whatever part he chose in the negotiation ; he might, if he pleased become a party to it ; and if he objected to the conclusion of any treaty either in whole or in part, it was not to be concluded ; on the contrary, the negotiation was to be broke off altogether, and the prince to be left to his present connection and protection. All the other articles however set forth in Major Browne's original instructions,[4]

1 Letter dated 5th July 1784. *CPC* VI, L. 1191.

2 Cf. *PRMH* I, B19a (p. 147).

3 Cf. *Browne,* L. 92.

4 See note 3 on page 23.

which were eight in number and which consisted on the one hand of conditions to be required for the honor and safety of the Prince, such as a Jagheer, or Russalah of House, a strong fort, etc., and on the other of concessions which we were willing to grant on our part as an inducement to the Minister to acquiesce in the others; all these, without any variation we were to continue as the ground work of the negotiation. The 5th and 6th articles however, which related to the Viziers appointment of his own Deputy and his right of stationing troops at the presence, were in case of their being found to be unattainable, to be omitted and referred to a separate negotiation as they were not considered to be essential parts of this.

I left Lucknow on the 26th July and arrived at Gualier on the 31st,[1] Bow Bucksey having remained with the Governor General.[2] On the 1st of August I had a long conversation with Sindia, in which I explained to him fully the Governor General's wishes with respect to the prince, as they were detailed in his first instructions to Major Browne, and the consequent alteration[3] he had made in these instructions from his offer of services and mediations. Sindia seemed extremely well pleased, and assured me that he would exert himself to the utmost in bringing this business to a favourable issue: nor did he seem to think that any of the articles, all of which, I particularly explained to him, would be attended with any difficulty. He also assured me that tho' he was prevented from marching immediately by the fortunate event of his daughter's delivery of a son,[4] yet that the delay should be as short as possible, being well aware of the Governor's anxiety to bring the business to a speedy conclusion.

Notwithstanding these promises of Sindia he did not in good earnest begin his march from Gualier till about two months afterwards.[5] In the means which he practised to spin out so long a delay he may appear to be guilty of a want of Candour to the Governor General,[6] but the truth, that it would have been to no purpose to have marched sooner; for even after he did march he was stopped for 15 days on the Banks of the Chumbul, before the water fell

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[1] Hastings asked J. Anderson to return to Mahadaji Sindia's camp for the purpose of securing his co-operation. *Browne*, p. 176; *Forrest* (*FD*) III, p. 1127.

[2] Cf. *Forrest* (*FD*) III, p. 1127.

[3] In addition to the instructions given to Major Browne in letter dt. 23rd July 1784, Browne was asked to await the arrival of Mahadaji Sindia. *Browne*, pp. 184, 188.

Warren Hastings further asked Browne to suspend his negotiations with Afrasiyab Khan regarding the Shahzada, and to leave these entirely to the management of Mahadaji Sindia. *Ibid.*

[4] Sadashiv Dinkar informs the Poona Government that the daughter of Mahadaji Sindia who was given in marriage to Ladoji Shitole delivered a son on 6th September 1784. *HPMS*, L. 332.

[5] Sindia resumed his march towards Delhi after the *Dassara* (24th Sept.) and crossed the swollen Chambal river with some difficulty and delay. *Sarkar* III, p. 275.

[6] Mahadaji explained the delay to Governor General (*CPC*. VI, L. 1315). The reasons of Mahadaji's delay in starting from Gwalior are detailed by Governor General in his report dt. 1st Dec. 1784. *Forrest* (*FD*) III, p. 1127.

sufficiently to enable him to cross-over; and tho' he must have foreseen this circumstance, yet he chose to conceal it, and to hold out constantly hopes of his reaching Agrah in a very few days; from an apprehension probably that the Governor General whom he knew to be excessively desirous of concluding the negotiation before he left the upper provinces might, if he had known the real unavoidable delay, have recalled his power of mediation and resumed the old plan of carrying on the negotiation himself through Major Browne. In this idea Mahajee Scindia was not mistaken for the Governor General tired of his repeated delays, did about the end of September revoke the powers of mediation and of the option of a negative which he had given to him, and instructed Major Browne to proceed in the negotiation[1] and to simplify it by making a paper of questions from Afrasiab Cawn and of answers from the prince which he transmitted to him the groundwork of an Agreement between them. Hearing however a few days afterwards from Bow Bucksey that Sindia had begun his march, and being apprehensive from the weight which he foresaw Sindia must necessarily acquire in the management of the King, that any agreement concluded without his intervention, must in the end prove nugatory, he was induced to countermand his late orders to Major Browne and to replace the negotiation on its former footing.[2]

In the mean time, the Governor General was under the necessity of proceeding to Calcutta and the negotiation for the Prince was thus deprived of one support[3] which it is to be supposed, his presence so near the scene of it, would otherwise have given it. I must confess however that I had stated very sanguine hopes of success; not so much from any implicit reliance on the promises of Sindia as because I thought that jealous as he might be of the re-establishment of the Prince, thus connected with us, on a kind of independent footing at the Court of his Father, yet that it was more for his interest to be instrumental in forwarding this object, than risk the consequence which he had otherwise reason to expect would ensue from our effecting it in opposition to him. I did not sufficiently consider how much more the Morattoes would. Occasions are apt to regard the present than the future; and it is not improbable that on the present occasion, Sindia was tempted from the flattering prospects upheld to him by the extraordinary and unexpected events that afterwards fell out, to follow a different line of conduct from that which he had originally intended. The events here alluded to, are not less curious in themselves, than the dextrous application of them by Sindia to the advancement of his own interests; but before I enter upon the relation of them, it may be necessary to say something of the situation at that time of the King and his Ministers.

The present king Shaw Allum in the early part of his life, displayed[4] a degree of spirit and activity which gave hopes of a steadiness of conduct, very different from what he has since manifested. The whole of his reign since his first connection with the English to the present period has been spent in a state

[1] Cf. *Browne*, p. 198; *Forrest (FD)* III, p. 1127.

[2] Cf. *Forrest (FD)* III, p. 1127.

[3] The news of Wheeler's death in October 1784 quickened Hastings' return to Calcutta (*Trotter*, p. 194). Edward Wheeler was a member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta from 1777 who supported Hastings in Council. *DIB*, p. 449.

[4] Cf. *Sarkar*, II, p. 390.

of thraldom,[1] and nature indeed seems never to have intended him, for any thing beyond a mere pageant of Authority. His situation at Allahabad under the protection of the English, he has often declared to have been the happiest part of his life,[2] but he was soon led from his fickle and capricious disposition to exchange it for a more wretched dependance on the Morattoes[3]. No sooner had he escaped from them than he fell into a similar state of thraldom under his Minister Nudjif Cawn[4]. The bravery, generosity, and other good qualities of this man, added to the important services he had rendered the State in the reduction[5] of the Jauts, gave in the course of time a settled form to his usurpation[6] in which the unfortunate King remained a mere Cypher of Authority. The abilities and virtues of the Minister however were calculated more for war than peace[7], and being in a high degree indolent and voluptuous[8], the affairs during his administration and particularly towards the latter[9] part of it, were suffered to fall into a total derangement. Unable himself to enter into the details of business, he devolved the management of every department

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[1] The French Captain Jean Law, who was often with Shah Alam from 1758 to 1761, draws a pleasing picture of him as a prince. He writes, "The Shahzada had the best education in the knowledge of religion and of the oriental tongues, of history, and the writings of one's academic experiences well. In effect, all that I could perceive decided in his favour. He is familiar to the Arabic, Persian, Turki and Hindustani Languages. He loves reading and never passes a day without employing some hours in it. He is of an inquiring mind, naturally gay and free in his private society, where he frequently admits the principal military officers in whom he has confidence." (*Memoirs*, 329 quoted by *Sarkar* II, p. 386).

Shah Alam II sat on the throne proclaiming himself Emperor, on the 24th Oct. 1759. He became an English Pensioner and had a settled and comfortable residence at Allahabad, (1765-1771). From 6th Jan. 1772 to 20th May 1773 he was under the protection of the Marathas. From May 1773 onwards he passed a period of his life under the tutelage of his ministers. From Nov. 1784 onwards he remained under the protection of Mahadaji Sindia.

[2] Cf. *CPC* II, Ls. 1103, 1136, 1312.

[3] The Emperor's submission to the Marathas took place on 17th Jan. 1773. *CPC* IV, L. 122 ; *Sarkar* III, pp. 74-75.

[4] Mirza Najaf was appointed second Paymaster General on 5th June 1773. (*Sarkar* III, p. 89). For the early career of Najaf Khan see *ibid*, p. 39.

[5] Cf. *SPD*. XXIX, L. 263 ; *Sarka* III, p. 106.

[6] "After becoming the Regent (Wakil-i-Mutaliq) Najaf Khan became all in all the actual administration ; all *parwanahs* were to bear his seal, and all *sanads* that of the Wazir, whose deputy and substitute at court was Najaf." *Sarkar* III, p. 189.

[7] Mirza Najafkhan held the regency of Dehli from 19th Nov. 1779 till his death on 6th April 1782. In this period two expeditions were undertaken, viz. the joint attack on Jaipur by Murtaza Khan Barech and Mahbub Ali Khan (April 1780—Feb. 1781) and Mirza Muhammad Shafi's long campaign against the Sikhs (Feb. 1780 to 1782). *Ibid*, pp. 191-2.

[8] The following incident illustrates these vices : "On 4th and 5th June 1781, the Amir-ul-Umara (Najaf Khan) taking his entire harem himself made an excursion to Wazirabad (i.e. Wazirpur, North of Delhi fort). At four *gharis* of the night he ordered the women of his Zanana to loot the melon-beds on the bank of the river near which his tents were pitched. Then he attended dancing till midnight, also next morning till one quarter of the day. The baskets filled with these melon beds were ordered to be sent to his mansion in Delhi." *Ibid* p. 195.

[9] Najaf's administration ended with his death in 1782. From 1780 he indulged in wine and women by neglecting the business of the state about which Shah Alam complained thus : "Owing to Mirza Najaf's neglect of the administration the empire is falling to pieces ; the soldiers, receiving no pay, are dispersing in bitterness of mind," and again "There is maladministration in all the territories under Najaf Khan and yet he is sunk in pleasure and takes no step to remedy this sorry state of affairs." *Ibid*, pp. 195-6.

upon others, and with the same view of indulging his ease, he caused Jaydads[1], or Assignments upon particular districts to be given to every officer instead of payments in cash. To such a length was this system carried that not only the Commander of his forces, but every other officer of Government even the Superintendent of his Majesty's kitchen were furnished with these assignments. So loose a system of Government, seems to have laid the foundation of that ruin, which was afterwards completed by the struggles for power which ensued after his death, joined to two successive seasons of uncommon scarcity[2]. Upon his death four competitors[3] started up for the succession, none of them possessing any other claim than what they derived from the portion of troops and territory which had been committed to their charge, and all of them equally regardless of the rights of the King. It would be tedious and indeed foreign to the subject to enter into a particular detail of all their Battle and Intrigues. It is sufficient to observe that after various changes of fortune, Mirza Shuffee, by much the most able and the most respectable of the four competitors, established himself in the power and appointments of his deceased Master, under the same rank and tide of Ameer-ul-Omrah[4]. He had scarcely been a year in the possession of his new dignity when he was assassinated[5] in revenge, for some disappointment and ill usage by Mahomed Beg Hundanny (Hamadani) another of the competitors, who seems in this to have had no other object than the gratification of his resentment, for he submitted quietly to the succession[6] of Afrasiab Cawn. This man, originally a Hindoo, and the son of a Camel Driver, had risen from a state of slavery under Nudgif Cawn[7], to be the principal Manager of his finances. In this situation he is supposed to have availed himself of the indolence of his master to amass a large sum of money which he had deposited in the Fort of Alligurh, the principal stronghold of the Jagheer which had been conferred upon him. His abilities however were in no degree equal to the arduous situation in which he was now placed; and a sense of his own inability seems to have dictated

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[1] Najaf Khan, holding the seal of the Vazarat in his possession granted *sanads* to anybody he liked without consulting the Emperor. *CPC* IV, L. 1277.

[2] The prolonged drought and failure of crops began to rage throughout upper India from 1780. "While the price of grain and fodder kept the famine level, the state could get no money for paying its servants." *Sarkar* III, pp. 196-7.

[3] Najaf Khan had four lieutenants. Afrasiyab Khan was his adopted son to whom he had recommended to the Emperor as his chosen successor in office and master of his troops and fiefs. The second favourite slave and lieutenant of Mirza Najaf was a Persian named Najaf Quli Khan after his patron. The third was his nephew's son Mirza Muhamud Shafi who could claim the "royal blood of Persia", and the last was the most sinister figure, Muhammad Beg Hamadani who combined the treachery and ferocity of the Afghan. The history of the two years and a half from 1782 was the history of the dissolving and newly forming combinations among these four generals. *Ibid* pp. 233-5.

[4] After the death of Najaf Khan, Afrasiyab became Mir Bakshi but he could not control the affairs of the state as he found the exchequer empty and the Emperor and his household starving (*MR* I, L. 84). Shafi, the son of Najaf's nephew led a coup on 10 Sept. 1782 and had himself appointed as a Mir Bakshi and Regent on 15th Sept. 1782. *Ibid*, L. 77; *Sarkar* III, p. 249.

[5] Afrasiyab formed a secret pact with Muhammad Beg Hamadani for murdering Shafi by treachery. Hamadani murdered Muhammad Shafi on 23rd September 1783. *MR* I, L. 91, *Sarkar* III, p. 263.

[6] Shafi alone stood between Afrasiyab and the Mir Bakshiship (*Sarkar* III, p. 261; *HPMS*, L. 266). After Shafi had been slain, Afrasiyab silenced Hamadani by a secret pact (*MR* I, L. 93) and got himself appointed Mir Bakshi and a Regent (*Ibid*, Ls. 92, 94).

[7] Sadashiv Dinkar, Nana's Agent with Sindia, states that Afrasiyab was a son of *Bannia* and gives a brief account of his early career. *HPMS*, L. 323.

to him the expediency of securing himself by some respectable alliance. With this view he did all in his power to establish a friendship with the English[1], but finding that his overture were so readily accepted as he expected, he yielded in the mean time to the instances of Sindia through the means of his agent Himmut Bahadre[2] [Bahadur] and determined to avail himself of the assistance which he preferred for the establishment of his own security, and for the regulation of the affairs of this Empire. To facilitate these objects it was agreed that the parties in the presence of the King, should have a meeting at Agrah[3]. Thither Afrasiab Cawn with the King immediately proceeded and arrived some months before Sindia had reached the Banks of the Chumbul[4] This interval was artfully employed by Himmut Bahadre in promoting a rupture between Afrasiab Cawn and Mahomed Beg Humdanny a circumstance which he foresaw, if probably managed would not fail of weakening them both and rendering them an easy prey to Sindia[5]. In this his success was complete. The weakness of Afrasiab Cawn had disgusted most of his old friends and he yielded himself in every thing to the guidance of Himmut Buhadre[6]. At this instigation he recalled the Jaghire of Humdanny and shewed him such other insults as determined him to come to open hostilities with him[7]. He had at that time an army of nearly equal strength to that under Afrasiab Cawn and immediately on perceiving the hostile disposition of the latter, he marched from the frontiers of Jeypore where he had taken his station towards Agrah[8]. Afrasiab Cawn shewed no disposition to shun the contest, and both armies lay encamped within 6 miles of each other, when Mahajee Sindia on the 19th of October crossed the river Chumbul at a distance of about 26 miles from the

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1 Afrasiyab was sent by Shafi to Major Browne on 25th Feb. 1783, (*PRMH* I, p. 123). Afrasiyab was anxious to consolidate his power by allying himself with the English (*Grier*, p. 281). He professed his loyalty to His Majesty and of friendship to the English (*Browne*, L. 46). Hastings gave instructions to Browne about Afrasiyab mission [*Forrest* (*FD*) III, pp. 1025-28].

2 Appajiram, the Maratha agent mentions this in his letter dt. 23rd Oct. 1783. *HPMS*, L. 270. Also see *Browne*, p. 105.

3 Afrasiyab urged on the Emperor to proceed with him to Agra and help in collecting tribute. It was his intention that Sindia should meet the Emperor at Agra. *HPMS*, L. 325.

4 The Emperor alongwith Afrasiyab arrived at Agra, on 6th August 1784 (*CPC* VI, L. 1191). Sindia offered to meet the Emperor and Afrasiyab at Agra in August but was delayed on account of domestic calamity and also heavy rains (*HPMS*, L. 332). In September he crossed the Chambal, occupied Dholpur and Bari Districts and reached the suburbs of Agra in October 1784 (*Ibid*, L. 342).

5 Sindia declared Himmat Bahadur as his plenipotentiary for negotiating with Afrasiyab Khan (*Browne*, p. 147). Himmat Bahadur had became partisan of Afrasiyab Khan after the death of Najaf Khan (*Ibid*, p. 105). But the intrigue of Himmat Bahadur brought about downfall of Afrasiyab Khan and Mohamed Beg Khan (*Ibid*, pp. 206-7).

6 Gosain Himmat Bahadur became Afrasiyab's chief counsellor and kept urging his new patron to bring Sindia to the Delhi Court and thereby effectually check all his Mughal rivals and the English intriguers (*Sarkar* III, p. 272). "In a meeting with Sindia on 26th Oct. 1784 Afrasiyab gave up the districts of Dholpur and Bari as a present to Sindia's wife at a whisper from the diplomatic Himmat Bahadur." (*Ibid*, p. 277).

7 When Afrasiyab marched against Hamadani with whose help Shafi was murdered, Hamadani boiled with indignation against the faithless man and looted the imperial dominion and committed many atrocities. *Ibrat Namah* II, 82 ; *Sarkar* III, p. 273.

8 Browne gives the serious aspects of the war that commenced between the Jaipur Raja and Mohammed Beg Khan Hamdani. *Browne*, L. 86.

contending armies.[1] The events which followed will be understood from the two extracts of letters, here subjoined, which I wrote at the time of Mr. Boddam[2], the Governor of Bombay.

Sindia's Camp near Futtypore,

11th November 1784.

In my address of the 4th ultimo, I endeavoured to explain the state of the Mussulman Chiefs and the probable intentions of Sindia in regard to them. From that period until the 19th Sindia continued busily employed in crossing over his troops, which having been at length effected he proceeded on his march towards the army of Afrasiab Cawn, the Amir-ul-Omrah· where we arrived on the 23rd[3]. Several friendly visits were interchanged between the two Chiefs, but Sindia cautiously avoided a compliance with the earnest entreaties of the other to take immediate measures for engaging the army of Mahomed Beg Humdanny which lay at the distance of six or seven miles[4]. He was too sensible of the importance of his own situation, having the balance entirely in his hands to sacrifice it by any act that might tend to put any of the parties beyond the want of the assistance until he had first secured to himself such concessions[5] as he thought the importance of his situation entitled him to expect. The Ameer-ul-Omrah who was a man of little or no capacity as was indeed sufficiently shewn in the step he had taken of calling[6] in the aid of Sindia to assist in the settlement of his affairs was somewhat surprised at the demands he now made and endeavoured to evade à compliance[7]. Sindia immediately made a show of entering into a treaty with Humdanny, received with great attention his vakel, and took his measures so as to impress a very general belief of its being his determination to enter into a treaty with him[8]. This expedient had the desired effect. The Ameer-ul-Omrah felt in its full force his absolute dependance on the will of Sindia and hastened by a compliance with all his demands to prevent his engagement in a treaty with his enemy. Sindia then agreed to assist him in the reduction of Humdanny[9].

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[1] In his letter of 28th Sept. 1784, Browne reports the movements of Afrasiyab's troops against Hamadani (*Browne*, L. 101, p. 202). Afrasiyab, taking all his troops and guns as well as the Maratha advance guard of 6,000 men under Ambaji Ingle, had set out westwards from Agra on 23rd September to fight Hamadani and had halted near Khaunar, 8 miles west of Fatehpur Sikri, waiting for Sindia's approach. *Sarkar* III, p. 276.

[2] The Bombay archives do not seem to possess this letter.

[3] According to Browne, Sindia and Afrasiyab Khan met on 22nd October (*Browne*, p. 208). But the agent in Poona Darbar in his Persian letter gives the date as 21st Oct. (*PRMH* I, p. 151).

[4] Hamadani had arrived within 6 coss of Fatehpur. *Browne*, p. 202.

[5] Sindia has repeatedly declined or neglected Afrasiyab's request for an attack on Hamadani thus keeping the balance in his hand till Afrasiyab had accepted his demands. *PRMH* I, p. 151.

[6] Afrasiyab wrote letters to Sindia requesting him to come to Delhi and save the crumbling imperial state. *HPMS*, Ls. 335, 339. The *ASL* II, L. 18 gives full details of Sindia's movements to meet the Emperor at Agra. Cf. *AT* V, p. 9-11 where Sadashiv Dinkar gives a graphic account of the countryside during Mahadaji's march to Agra.

[7] Afrasiyab finally agreed to the terms dictated by Sindia, whereupon Sindia decided to attack Hamadani. *Sarkar* III, pp. 277-8 ; *PRMH* I, p. 151.

[8] Negotiations with Hamadani had been opened by Mahadaji but no treaty appears to have been concluded. *Francklin* pp. 124-5.

[9] Cf. *PRMH* I, p. 151 ; *Sarkar* III, pp. 276-77.

On the 2nd of November, the day fixed on, for the attack of Humdanny most of Sindia's Chiefs with their troops marched early in the morning to the station appointed where they were to wait the order of the Ameer-ul-Omrah; and Sindia himself remained in his camp, as had been before settled to act as a Reserve[1]. All these preparations however were frustrated by the sudden assassination of the Ammer-ul-Omrah in his tent about 9 O'Clock[2] that morning. Some ruffians were employed on this occasion who being well dressed and otherwise of a decent appearance found means, under a pretence of delivering a petition to get access to the Nabob, in his Durbar. He had no sooner begun to read the petition than one of them drew his dagger and gave him a mortal wound in the breast. The perpetrator of the deed was himself killed in the scuffle which immediately ensued[3].

This event happening so critically to sure, or at least afford a respite to Humdanny from the destruction which threatened him naturally engendered a suspicion that he was the contriver of it[4]. Some months ago however a similar attempt had been planned by Zeynul Abideen the brother of the late Ameer-ul-Omrah Mirza Shuffy, and tho' his guilt had been proved beyond doubt, yet either from the lenity of Afrasiab Cawn or the unwillingness to endanger his own situation, the more, by prosecuting this matter with vigour, he was suffered to escape with impunity[5]. This man immediately on the perpatration of the murder fled with all precipitation to Sindia for protection, and brought him the first intellgence of the event[6]. His apparent perturbation concerning with other circumstances gave Sindia so strong a suspicion of his guilt, that tho' he had affected to believe him when he asserted his innocence, and declared that he had been induced to fly with such precipitation from the Mogul Camp merely to avoid the effects of the suspicion which he had reason to fear might be fixed upon him from the former accusation that had been made against him[7], yet he gave private orders that he should be strictly watched; and the certainty of his guilt having been afterwards established, Sindia gave orders that he should be put to death; but having been diverted from this resolution at the earnest entreaties of some of his chiefs, he ordered him to be put in chains[8] in which condition he is now kept ready to be sent to Gualier by the first opportunity[9].

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1 In the morning of 2nd Nov. (1784) Afrasiyab's army was moving towards Hamadani's camp. *Browne,* L. 109.

2 About 11 O'clock says *Browne* (Ls. 109, 110). Also see *CPC* VI, Ls. 1472-73.

Afrasiyab Khan was assassinated by a soldier of his army in his own tent. *Grier,* pp. 344, 356; *PRMH* I, p. 149.

3 The perpetrator was a sepoy of Mirza Abidin Khan (*CPC* VI, L. 1472). Francklin says that this name was Maddoo Beg. He was immediately cut to pieces (*Francklin,* p. 126).

4 Cf. *ASL* II, p. 99.

5 Mirza Zainul Abidin Khan had conspired against the life of Amir ul' Umra Afrasiyab in April 1784. The plot was discovered. But Mirza Zainul Abidin Khan having taken asylum with the Old Begum, Najif Khan's sister, no further steps were taken against him. *Browne,* L. 74.

6 Cf. *Sarkar* III, p. 280.

7 "Since his flight Zain' ul-Abidin is suspected by everybody to be the instigator of the crime." *CPC* VI, L. 1494.

8 Cf. *Forrest* (*FD*) III, p. 1129.

9 Zainul Abidin was transferred to the fort of Gwalior for life-long imprisonment. *CPC* VI, L. 1550.

The Amer-ul-Omrah died a few hours after receiving his wound, but his death was kept concealed during that day, and the greatest part of the next from his troops[1]. All the consequences which generally attend an event of this nature did not here ensue. The influence of Sindia was such that aided by the management of some of the Mogul Chiefs with whom he had long maintained a secret correspondence he not only found means to keep the army of the deceased together[2], but even marched them the next morning against Humdanny[3]. This measure in itself extraordinary is rendered yet more so when it is considered that most of the Mussulman Chiefs had extremely disapproved of the conduct of the Ameer-ul-Omrah in calling in the aid of Sindia, to assist in quelling their civil disputes and that in order to destroy the effect of it they had entered into a secret correspondence with Humdanny[4]. Nevertheless these very chiefs, now that the opportunity was favourable for shaking off the yoke of a foreign power which seemed gradually to be gaining strength, and which if not in time prevented must terminate in their ruin, so far from taking measures for this concern with Humdanny agreed immediately to act against him[5]. The truth is, some of these Chiefs been brought over to the interest of Humdanny the rest had no confidence in each other and the measures of Sindia were so expeditiously taken, as to afford them no time for concerting amongst themselves[6].

Sindia having accordingly marched with his own and the Ministers Army, encamped on the 3rd instant[7]; the day after the massacre, within three miles of Humdanny and disposed of his own troops and those of the Minister and the auxiliary Rajahs in such stations as effectually to preclude the importation of grain into the Enemy's camp[8]. He constructed at the same time several Batteries in a very hasty manner, which having been opened against the enemy, were immediately answered by a discharge of cannon from them; but the effect was inconsiderable on either side. In this situation they remained for several days, during which the distresses of Humdanny increased to a degree that threatened soon to destroy him and he had scarcely any prospect of being able to extricate himself[9]; for altho' he might attempt to force his way by attacking any of the armies singly that were opposed to him, yet by this step he must have exposed his rear to the attack of the opposite party and his motions were too narrowly watched to give him reason to hope to be able to execute this maneuvre so suddenly as to escape the observation of the other party. Sindia therefore trusting to the effect of the extremity to which he was

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1 Cf. *Ibid,* L. 1473.

2 Sindia deputed Ambaji Ingle and Himmat Bahadur to restore order in Afrasiyab's camp and to prevent confusion. *Browne,* p. 217.

3 Browne in his letter dt. 8th mentions the attack (*Ibid,* L. 113—p. 220). Sarkar says that Sindia attacked Hamadani on 7th Nov., after Hamadani refused to surrender his artillery, elephants, horses and camels as demanded by Sindia. *Sarkar* III, pp. 284-85.

4 Hamadani, Zain'ul Abidin Khan and others met together in consultation and disapproved the action of Affrasiyab Khan in inviting Mahadaji to Delhi. *ASL* V, p. 9; *Sarkar* III, p. 278; *HPMS,* L. 606 (p. 881).

5 Cf. *Francklin,* p. 136.

6 Cf. *PRMH* I, B20b (p. 151); *ASL* II, p. 101.

7 Cf. *ASL* II, L. 18 (p. 102); *Sarkar* III, p. 283.

8 The Chiefs of Mahadaji surrounded the camp and cut off all supplies of provisions from Hamadani's camp. *Browne,* p. 270.

9 Cf. *Ibid.*

now reduced, and being perhaps somewhat defedent of the fidelity of the Mussalman troops, in case he should risk an action, determined to proceed in the manner he had begun[1] and resisted with great firmness the many advices and proposals to the contrary which were made to him by his Chiefs.

During these scenes the King attended only by a few horsemen and a battalion of Infantry, remained in the fort of Agrah[2]. On the first intelligence of the death of Afrasiab Cawn, he appointed a Governor to the Fort of his own authority and sent an express for Mujeida Daulah[3] one of his oldest and most confidential servants, who had been kept for some months past in confinement by the late Ameer-ul-Omrah[4]. These were but feeble efforts which in the event availed him little; and were indeed accompanied by other acts which shewed that the power of Sindia was no less prevalent with His Majesty than with his Chiefs[5]. He dispatched[6] a dress to Sindia and sent orders that the infant son of the late Ameer-ul-Omrah should be placed in the station of his father with the title of Ghaleb Jung which was accordingly proclaimed in camp with the customary formalities[7].

This measure as being entirely adopted to forward the views of Sindia left little room to doubt that it was rather a Dictate of his than a voluntary act of His Majesty[8]. But the helpless situation of the King was shewn in a more conspicuous light a few days after, in consequence of letters which he had received, both from Sindia[9] and the Mussulman Chiefs[10], after the massacre of their commandant, recommending it to him to come to camp, he had accordingly determined to proceed thither and the 7th instant was fixed for his departure[11]. On that very day Majeedah Doulah escaped from his confinement at Dehly arrived at Agrah and immediately on his alighting was attended by the Governor of the Fort, who informed him that it was the wish of Sindia that he should defer paying his respects to His Majesty till he himself should have held a conference with the King; and that as the House in which he

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[1] Mahadaji acted promptly and with admirable vigilance, tact and suppleness. *ASL* II, pp. 102-3; *Sarkar* III, p. 285.

[2] Cf. *Browne*, p. 270.

[3] Shah Alam ordered the release of Nawab Majdu'd Daula and called him to his court. *CPC*. VI, L. 1544; *Browne*, L. 113 (p. 221).

[4] Majdu'd Daula who was confined in the Fort Mursan seduced his Telinga guard and reached Agra for going to the Emperor. Shujadil Khan, the father-in-law of Afrasiyab Khan arrested him at the gate of the fort and confined him in his own house. *PRMH* I, B20a (p. 149).

[5] Even though the Emperor had appointed Majdu'd Daula as in charge of the fort and issued orders for his release the officer in charge refused to carry them out unless similar order is issued by Sindia. *Ibid.*

[6] The Emperor announced that he would take refuge with Sindia, as the only loyal subject left to him and deputed two of his trusted servants to the Maratha Camp with robes of honour and letters for Sindia. *Sarkar* III, p. 288.

[7] Diwan Narayan Das and Himmat Bahadur of Sindia's camp sponsored the cause of Afrasiyab's son, thus influencing the Emperor in arriving at his decision. *PRMH* I, B 20a, (p. 149); *Sarkar* III, pp. 291-292.

[8] Cf. *ASL* II, p. 104.

[9] The Emperor was urged by Sindia to move from Agra to Sindia's camp nearby. *PRMH* B20a (p. 149); *Browne*, L. 115, (p. 223).

[10] Cf. *CPC*. VI, L. 1544; Browne, L. 116 (p. 224).

[11] Cf. *PRMH* I, B20a (p. 149).

then lived was not suitable to his Rank, he proposed carrying him to another[1]. Mujdeedah Dawlah seeing that resistance was in vain, immediately submitted and was carried prisoner to the Fort of Agrah nor could the orders or entreaties of the King suffer his Majesty to see him before he began his march[2].

In this state of affairs, the King had no prospect of improving his situation by marching to camp, yet he determined to proceed and accordingly made a short march on the 7th[3] [November 1784]. Humdanny though reduced, as I have already mentioned, to the greatest distress, had yet contrived to hold out much longer than was expected[4]. At length on the 8th instant he sent a message to Sindia informing him that he was willing to surrender and desiring to know what terms he would give him[5]. Sindia required the surrender of his whole army and guns allowing him only to keep a few horses and an elephant, but giving him hopes of perhaps improving his situation hereafter[6]. A delay of a few days intervened, not so much from any hopes on the part of Humdanny of procuring better terms as from a doubt how far those that were offered to him would be honourably adhered to[7]. At length upon Sindia's sending four or five of his confidential friends to pledge themselves for the faithful observance of these terms, he surrendered himself together with his army and guns; all of which now remain at Sindia's disposal[8]. Thus in the space of 7 days from the death of the Ammer-ul-Omrah, by his address and management and by the vigour of his measures, Scindia has broken the force of the two armies[9] which if joined would have destroyed him with ease, and which either might have opposed him with great probability of success, if he had not been joined by the office. Every thing is now in his power, and what use he will make of his situation must so soon be made apparent by the course of events themselvees, that I will not at present venture to make any conjectures upon it. The king is within a few coss of this camp, and Sindia will probably pay his respects to him tomorrow[10].

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[1] Cf. *Browne*, L. 113 (p. 221); See also *Sarkar* III, p. 288.

[2] Because of intervention of Raja Himmat Bahadur and Narayan Das, Emperor's order for release of Abdul Ahad Majdu'd Daula was not executed. *PRMH* I, B21b (p. 150).

[3] Cf. *Browne*, L. 113 (p. 221). According to *Sarkar*, Shah Alam left Agra on the 10th, and passing the next day Fatehpur Sikri, reached Khanua on the 12th. *Sarkar* III, p. 288.

[4] Cf. *ASL* II, L. 18 (pp. 102-3); See also *Browne*, L. 113 (pp. 220-21).

[5] Cf. *Browne*, L. 114.

[6] Cf. *ASL* II, L. 18. *Sarkar* III, pp. 281-283 is a literal translation of portion of this letter.

[7] Hamadani represented through his Vakil to Sindia that he was prepared to surrender all his effects provided the latter employed him in his service or allowed him to depart in peace with his family. *CPC* VI, L. 1550 (p. 431).

Sindia took Hamadani in his service and sent him on a distant expedition to Raghavgad. *Francklin*, p. 135.

[8] Hastings writes to his wife : "...Humdannee was obliged to surrender Sindia all his artillery and stores, with his own person. His troops were dispersed, and Sindia thus became the uncontested ruler of the royal army..." *Grier*, p. 345.

[9] The armies of Afrasiyab and Ahmad Beg Hamadani. *Browne*, p. 223.

[10] On 12th Nov. 1784 Browne writes : "...Sindia has sent a considerable escort to meet His Majesty... It is imagined that he will meet him himself tomorrow (13th)." (*Browne*, p. 223). But the meeting didn't take place on that day. The two met on 14th, as reported by *Browne* in his No. 116 (p. 224). The date given in *CPC* VI, L. 155 is obviously wrong. Details of Sindia's visit to the Emperor are picturesqued by Sadashiv Dinkar. *ASL* II, pp. 104-5. See also *Sarkar* III, p. 289.

Extract of a letter to Governor Boddam, dated Sindia's Camp 13th December 1784.

In my last I gave you a complete detail of the transactions of Sindia, from his junction with Afrasiab Cawn till his reduction of Mahomed Beg Humdanny. The great difficulties of his work were then in a great degree surmounted; but still his situation was critical, and it required no small degree of skill and prudence to take such measures as might permanently secure to him the objects which were then in his power. In this Sindia has completely succeeded, and in the accomplishment of it he has shewn the same degree of ability and judgment which has marked every other part of his conduct. On the 14th of November, the King who had marched from Agrah in the beginning of November arrived in Sindia's camp[1]; but it was not till the 17th that Sindia had a conversation[2] with him on business which lasted near an hour, and at which none[3] were present on the part of either; Sindia himself holding a Chownie over the King's head to remove every pretext for the attendance of any of his people. Another conversation of this kind took place some days afterwards, but the subject of neither of them transpired and of course gave rise to much speculation. Altho' Sindia's views were not distinctly known, it was evident that the commanding situation in which he was placed had suggested to him very extensive ones; and as the Office of Ameer-ul-Omrah which was then vacant would have enabled him more effectually than by any other mode to have secured them; it was conjectured by some, that he meant to prevail on the King to confer this appointment upon himself[4]. But as the dignity of this office so high above the rank of Peshwa, would have been incompatible with his obedience to him others who knew his cautious disposition imagined that it was his intention to get the appointment continued to the infant son of Afrasiab Cawn, and the deputyship conferred on one of his own creatures; by which means he would have secured to himself all the benefits of the office without subjecting himself to any of its inconveniences. But the sequel proved both these conjectures to be wrong. In the first instance the King in his public Darbar declared that he had appointed the Peshwa his vakeel-i-Mutalick, that he entrusted the whole management of his affairs to him and immediately gave to Sindia the dress and other insignia of this appointment[5]. Sindia received these with the customary forms of respect, and in a few days the king is to confer upon him a dress to enable him to act as Naib or Deputy in this office to the Peshwa[6].

The obtainment of this appointment for the Peshwa is certainly a masterly stroke in Sindia. It is of a nature infinitely superior in point of power and dignity to that of the Vizier, and of which I have only met with two instances[7],

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1 Details of visit are reported in Marathi letter despatched from Delhi in the last week of Nov. 1784 (*26* Jilhej). *MR* I, L. 120.

2 Cf. *Sarkar* III, p. 289.

3 Anderson reports this in his letters dt. 25th Nov. and 2nd Dec. 1784 (*PRG*. I, pp. 12, 17). But this does not seem to be correct. *MR* I, L. 120 states that Sindia was accompanied by one of his officers, Krishnaji Pawar.

4 Cf. *ASL* II, L. 104.

5 Cf. *HPMS*, L. 342 (p. 459).

6 Cf. *MR* I, L. 132.

7 Three times in the history of Mughals, the office of Wakil-i-Mutalik was created (*Sarkar* III, p. 294). Mahadaji's appointment as Wakil-i-Mutalik is a 4th occasion.

in the History of Hindoostan; having once been conferred on Assid Cawn in the reign of Buhadir Shah[1], and afterwards on Nizam-ul-Mulk, in the time of Mahomed Shah. The actual power which Sindia will derive from the exercise of this office on behalf of the Peshwa, will enable him to do whatever he pleases in this quarter of Hindoostan. Thus whilest he has in reality secured to himself the whole power of the Empire he has managed it in such a manner as not only to avoid the blame and reproaches of the Ministers of the Peshwa, but even to entitle him to their applause for his exertions in the interest of his master, under the specious pretext of acting for the Peshwa, he may now prosecute his own measures, and instead of being thwarted in them by the jealousy of the Ministers at Poonah, he has a right to require and compel their aid and assistance[2]. At the same time it will always be in his power to avoid complying with any orders either from the Peshwa or the King, by declaring the refusal of the King in the one case, and by a reference to the Peshwa in the other[3]. In short in the present situation of affairs, Sindia could not have adopted a wiser measure than this, and there is none more capable of availing himself of all its advantages[4].

These extracts will serve clearly to shew not only the good fortune of Sindia from a critical coincidence of events in his favour, but also the dexterity and address with which he applied them to the advancement of his interest. Some of these events were rather of an unpromising nature, and but for his ability and address might have in the end proved rather prejudicial to his interests than otherwise. Such was the assassination of Afrasiab Cawn which seemed to uphold the fairest prospect to the Moguls for escaping the yoke of the Morattoes[5]. The event however was the very reverse, and as reports of Sindia's being concerned in this infamous transaction were afterwards spread, it is probable, that reasoning from the advantages which he derived

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[1] Prince Mu'azzam, Aurangzeb's son, succeeded Aurangzeb with the title of Bahadur Shah.

[2] Sindia had to entreat Nana for financial support to carry out the imperial designs (plans of Empire) undertaken by him. *HPMS*, Ls. 339-40.

Sindia repeatedly wrote to Nana Phadnis at Poona for sending re-inforcements and depicted in detail the nature and magnitude of the danger to the Maratha power in absence of help. *MR* I, L. 133; *MS.* p. 107.

[3] There are no occasion for Sindia to avoid compliance of the orders from Poona and Delhi. Later events prove that Mahadaji had to show deference to Poona Darbar as well as the Emperor. Malet's report to Governor General (Macpherson). *Forrest* (*MS*) I, p. 513.

[4] Warren Hastings also held a similar view as evidenced by the opinions he expressed during his impeachment. *Browne*, p. xi.

[5] "After the death of Affrasiyab the sovereign found none who could fill the dead regent's place. Therefore the Emperor sent robes of honour and letters for Sindia." *Sarkar* III, pp. 287-8.

from it, people were led to infer his privacy and sanction to the measure[1], no such belief prevailed at that time ; and the grounds (at least the only ones I ever could trace) on which it was afterwards supported by a few individuals ; admitting them to be true were by no means sufficient to warrant it[2]. Zeynul Abadeen was the brother of Mirza Shuffy, whose assassination was principally brought about by the intrigues of Afrasiab Cawn[3]. His own fortune being involved in the fate of his brother, he was naturally exasperated in the highest degree against the author of it, and being frustrated in a former attempt to assassinate him, he applied himself earnestly to Sindia for revenge[4]. To the various letters of complaint which he wrote on the occasion, Sindia is said to have sent him very satisfactory answers, assuring him that it was his intention soon to march in person towards Dehly purposely to revenge the death of his brother when he might depend upon his exertions to establish him in his appointments and command. Concluding from these assurances that the murder of Afrasiab Cawn would be agreeable to Sindia, Zeynul Abeedeen, it is thought, was induced to act in the manner already related ; and in proof of Sindia's connivance, it has been asserted, that the first order he issued upon learning the event, was to seize the papers of Zeyn-ul-Abeedeen. These circumstances supposing them to be true, cannot I think warrant the belief of Sindia's participation in the deed ; and it certainly forms a strong presumption in his favour, that though it has ultimately proved so beneficial to him, yet it was at the time apparently repugnant to his interests ; and accordingly we find that it was not until the full effect of the measure had taken place, that the Report with respect to him began to be propagated[5]. Besides the Morattoes in general are less sanguinary and less addicted to assassinations than any other sect in Hindoostan. The murder of the Peshwa Narrain Row by his uncle Ragoboy is the only instance of the kind in all their history, and it was marked by the general dictation of their Empire.

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1 Browne in his report says : "There are several People of Rank and Consideration who affirm Sindia to have been instrumental to this Act, and to have promised Zein'ul Abedin the office of Amir ul Amrah on the Death of Afrasiab Khan ; but Sindia's General Character for Humanity contradicts the Assertion, nor do I believe it to be true." (*Browne*, p. 270).

Francklin, the author of *the History of the reign of Shah Aulum,* has hinted the suspicion that Sindia may had a hand in the murder of Affrasiyab and states—"The conduct of the Maratha Chief in countenancing Zein-Al-Abudeen after the perpetration of so foul a crime calls loudly for the severest reprehension ; it is a strong presumptive proof that he was accessary to the deed." (*Francklin,* p. 130).

Cf. *Duff,* p. 462. "As Sindia derived most advantage from the death of Afrasiab Khan and as the assassin sought and found an asylum in his camp, he did not escape. Suspicion of being accessory to the murder." Also see *Keene*, pp. 100-1.

Sindia's complicity in the murder of Afrasiyab is denied by implication in Marathi letter from Delhi. The story of Afrasiyab's assassination is related by Nana's Vakil, Sadashiv Dinkar, who was in Sindia's camp. He states, "Hamadani, Zainul-Abidin and other Mughal Sardars had a meeting in which they were one in saying that Afrasiyab acts according to the advice of Mahadaji. Therefore he should be finished by Zain-ul-Abidin." *ASL* II, L. 18, p. 100. *Sarkar* (III, p. 279) holds the same view.

2 Browne does not believe it to be true. *Browne*, p. 270.

3 Afrasiyab Khan's complicity in the murder of Shafi was suspected and is mentioned by Maratha writer in a letter to Nana Phadnis. *MR* I, p. 93.

4 Zainul Abideen stayed with Sindia for six months ; and joined Hamadani in the murder of Afrasiyab. *ASL* II, p. 100.

5 Zainul Abideen was released from captivity at the instance of Sindia. *Francklin*, p. 125.

It was during these transactions that the negotiation relative to the prince, as has already been cursorily mentioned, fell entirely to the ground[1]. Sindia declared that the King's objections were insuperbable to the receiving him back on any other conditions than that of pardon and re-establishment at Court on his former footing and that he considered the terms we required, of an establisment of troops, of an addition of Territory, etc., as highly unreasonable and injurious to him, in holding forth to the rest of his family, so dangerous an example of successful disobedience[2]. There is much reason in these objections, not is it unlikely that they were at that time, in some degree the genuine sentiments of the King[3]. I do not however mean to deny that they were aided and abetted by Sindia, who certainly, if he had chose, might have persuaded the King[4] to an acquiescence, and as I was sanguine in my hopes of a successful issue to this negotiation, not less from a reliance on the repeated promises[5] of Sindia, than from an idea that his own interest was connected with it, I must own that I felt much uneasiness at the disappointment. I have since had occasion, from the experience of subsequent events to rejoice failure, and I must confess that on a candid review of all the circumstances, I cannot much blame Sindia for the opposition he may have given it. All that he promised the Governor General was to use his exertions[6] and he seems to have reserved to himself the excuse of the King's refusal in case he found it expedient to make use of it. This may appear a pitiful evasion considering the general notoriety of the King's weakness and total dependance upon him, but I question how far it may be prudent in us, situated as we are with respect to the Vizier, openly to censure such a conduct. After all however, I am inclined to think, that Sindia may have been sincere in his intentions, when he first promised his exertions to the Governor General, but that the unbounded prospects of advantage which his address and management had afterwards open to him, and which must have been blasted entirely by the return of the Prince, so strongly supported by the English, must have determined him to a contrary conduct[7]. He had besides some reasons to doubt

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1 Sindia was proclaimed as regent on 17th Nov. From the date of assassination of Afrasiyab (2nd) till the date (17th Nov.) of declaration of Sindia as a Regent, the matter regarding Shahzada had no place in Delhi politics.

2 Cf. *Browne*, enclosure (76) to letter 116 (pp. 225-226). *Browne Correspondence* gives details of escape and restoration of the Shahzada. Hastings' letters to Mahadaji and his minute regarding the affairs of the Prince are recorded in the Secret Department, 14th Dec. 1784. *Forrest* (*FD*) III, pp. 1126-27.

3 After getting control by Sindia, Shahzada's coming up with Vazier's troops was considered as indirect interference of the English Government in the management of Shah's affairs. *Browne*, p. 271.

4 In the opinion of *Browne* (p. 271), it would have meant inviting trouble for him and defeat for designs in the north.

5 Cf. *PRC*. I, Letter dt. 18th Nov. 1784 (p. 10).

6 Governor General Hastings says, "Mahadaji Sindia joined to his assurances a declaration that he would go in person to Agra to effect Prince's return to his father's Court." *Forrest* (*FD*) III, p. 1127.

7 "Taking all factors into account Mahadaji Sindia caused His Majesty to write his son, to come to the presence, but on no account bring any of the Vizier's troops with him." *Browne*, p. 271.

our sincerity[1]. In all our professions we had uniformly disclaimed any intentions in favour of the prince, beyond personal safety and an honorable reception at the Court of his father[2], yet the terms we required were such as seemed to aim at something more.

This apparent inconsistency arose from the peculiar nature of our connexion with the Prince. He had fled to us for protection from the ill usage of his father's Ministers[3], and it intimately concerned the honor and dignity of our Government, either to have yielded him that protection, or to have sent him back to his father in such a manner as might ensure his future safety[4]. This latter object as involving in a great degree the credit and honor of our Government, was of such consequence, that something more than mere assurances were deemed necessary to ensure it ; and unfortunately the concessions which with this view we required, were such as to admit of a different construction. It will easily be conceived that in the situation of Sindia, the most jealous view of this matter was the most natural one for him to adopt, and if it had been possible as I am confident that it was not, to have convinced him of the purity of our intentions, he had still however every reason to be doubtful of the prince and to foresee with certainty that nothing would be left undone by him to convert the means thus furnished him by us for his security, to purposes of a very different nature. Indeed there is but too much reason to think, that determined as the English Government were to confine themselves to the mere personal safety of the Prince[5], the detachment of a body of our troops along with him under an English Officer, could scarcely have failed to precipitate other consequences. It would in all probability have involved us into contests in support of the King ; a measure which however sanctioned by popular opinion, as being apparently founded no less in policy than generosity, must if ever adopted by the English be attended with the most ruinous consequences.

During these transactions, I received letters from the Council at Bombay, which gave some reasons to apprehend a rupture between them and the Government of Poonah, founded upon a clashing of their views in regard to the

1 It was the design of the British to have a charge of the Prince to enable them to establish their control over the Delhi court. But outwardly Hastings let it be known that Jawan Bakht slipped out of Delhi on his own. When Hastings went from Lucknow to Banaras he took with him Prince Jawan Bakht. The Emperor and Sindia protested against this act and asked Hastings to send the Prince back to the Emperor's presence. *PRMH* I, pp. 150-1.

Maratha suspicion about the British are well described in a long letter dated 5th Sept. 1784 from Nana to Mahadaji giving a list of British actions in direct contradiction of the promises made in the treaty of Salbai. The letter further expresses Nana's opinion that after such violations little reliance could be placed on the word of the English. *HPMS*, pp. 437-441.

2 Cf. *Forrest* (*FD*) III, p. 1129—Letter from Governor General to the Court of Directors outlining the Company's intentions towards the Prince.

3 This does not seem to be correct. Mahadaji writes to Nana that the Shahzada was made to fly from Delhi by the British. The British induced the Vazier to assign the territories of Kura, Kada and Prayag for the maintenance of the Prince. *HPMS*, L. 318 (p. 421).

4 The Emperor called the Prince under assurance of safety to go to Delhi. *CPC* V, Ls. 1103, 1283, 1285-8, 1420, 1475-6.

5 Mahadaji and the Emperor had promised the personal safety of the Prince advising him to come to Delhi unattended (*CPC* VI, Ls. 1481, 1544). But Mirza Zafrulla Beg, a friend of the prince at Delhi, warns him against such a step (*Ibid*, L. 1533).

seidy [the Siddi] of Dunda Raudepore[1] [Randa Rajapur] the Chief of an Abyssinian Colony settled at that place. The particulars of this matter may be found in my letters to the Governor General and Council, and the Government of Bombay, under date, the 6th, 14th and 16th of December[2], and as the immediate orders which the Governor General and Council issued to the Government of Bombay, for abstaining from any such interference in this matter as might endanger our peace with the Morattoes, soon put an entire stop to this business[3], I shall not enter into a detail of it here. My letter to the Governor General of the 22nd October contains a Representation of the difficulties I experienced in preventing Chut Sing's [Chait Sing's] introduction to the King[4]. The Governor General had given me the most peremptory orders on this head; and there are few points, in which I experienced more difficulties. I must however do Sindia the justice to say that though it was with the greatest reluctance that he agreed to relinquish his intention of introducing Chut Sing to the King, yet that he has since adhered steadily to the promises he then made them[5].

As soon as Sindia had obtained from His Majesty the Title of Vakeel-ul-Mutluck nominally for his Master, and settled some other arrangements, he provided with his Majesty, against the Rajah of Juspore [Jaipur] in the hopes of procuring a large contribution from him[6]. Meeting however with a more serious opposition that he expected and finding that the urgency of his affairs required his presence in other quarters, he came to a hasty composition with the Rajah[7] and returned to Deig where he arrived on the 5th of January[8]. During the course of our March an incident happened, which tho' unimportant in itself is yet worthy of notice from the attention towards me which in its consequences it produced from Sindia.

The particulars of it are briefly these.

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1 Letter of 8th Nov. 1784 from Bombay Council to the Governor General gives news of Maratha interference in the affairs of Siddi Rahim Khan of Rajapur. *SPDD* No. 31 of 1784, pp. 914-919.

2 These letters will be found at pages 45-46, 55-56, 61-64 of *SPDD* No. 32 of 1784. As accompaniments to these documents Anderson encloses the correspondence between him and the Governor General regarding the attitude of the Marathas (Peshwa and Sindia) towards the Siddi.

3 Cf. *Ibid.*

4 Anderson informs Macpherson that Sindia has steadfastly adhered to the assurances he gave him of preventing Chait Sing's introduction to the King. *PRC* I, p. 21.

5 Sindia did not introduce Chait Singh to the Emperor.

6 On 30th Nov. 1784, the army of Sindia marched for six cos towards Jaipur from the outskirts of Delhi. (*Ibid*, p. 17). Sindia desires to realise tributes from petty Rajput Rajas and go to Dig. *MR* I, L. 126 (p. 124).

Jaipur Raja was habitually in arrears of tribute. The Raja was always making promises but evading payments. From 1782-1784 nothing was paid by the Raja who took advantage of the weakness of the Delhi Government to stop payment. Mahadaji marched near Jaipur and to bring Raja to a speedy compliance with his terms detached Ambaji against him. *PRC* I, p. 17.

7 Sindia's forces attacked the Jaipur frontier at Mahewa-Ramgarh, and immediately the agent of Jaipur came to terms. The amount of tribute to be paid to the Emperor was settled at 21 lakhs and the envoy returned to Jaipur to raise the money. *MR*. I, p. 133; *Sarkar* III, p. 341.

8 "The Emperor and Mahadaji arrived at Dig after finishing the business with Jaipur Raja, Ranjit Singh, Jats and other Rajputs." *MR* I, L. 127 (p. 124).

On the 31st of December a scuffle ensued near my tent between a Grass-cutter in my service and a Morattoe Horseman about a branch of wood. The Grasscutter having received a slight wound was immediately joined by the rest of my servants, who with sticks in their hands and whatever other weapons they could lay hold of began to attack not only the horseman immediately concerned, but another party of horsemen, who were passing by at the time. To repel this attack, the Horsemen drew their swords and the fray immediately became general. Having been alarmed by the noise which it occasioned, I went out to enquire into the cause, on my approach the parties ceased, and very respectfully apologized for their conduct as the effect of the injustifiable attack begun by my people.

The conduct of Sindia on this occasion gave me the highest satisfaction and I was much pleased with his delicate attention to me in a little matter which happened soon after and which came to my ears merely by accident. One of the sepoys attached to my Guard having been prevented by one of Sindia's Horsemen from crossing over a field of grain, resented it in a very improper and insolent manner. Sindia happening to pass by at the time, enquired into the matter and on learning the improper behaviour of the sepoy, he desired some of his people to carry him to the Subadar of the Companies with a request that he would reprimand him, but from a knowledge of the strictness of our discipline, and an apprehension lest the man should be severely punished, he gave the strictest orders that the matter should be concealed from me and that nothing should be done to the offender beyond the Repremand of his immediate Officer.

These circumstances may perhaps appear to be unimportant, but I own that I have a pride in relating them, as I am willing to believe that Sindia may have been prompted in these instances by a consideration of my own general conduct on every similar occasion. The Morattoes, are in general proud consequential, and in a high degree tenacious; but they are not insensible to a proper mildness in others, and with a little attention may be easily brought to shew an accommodating disposition on their part. To effect this is indeed a point of the utmost consequence; for it is wonderful in Hindoostan how essentially a good understanding between an English Resident, and the Chief and subjects of the Court where he is stationed may contribute to the success of his negotiations and to the preservation of peace between the two States. On the other hand an inaccommodating disposition, a false idea of the display of spirit, a hasty adoption of some mispresentation of servants dependants, who are almost always inclined to inflame, or an unwarrantable attention to personal consequence may often be the occasion of wanton sacrifice of the interests of the public.

I do not mean from these observations to insinuate that we should ever streatch our disposition to accommodate so far as to overlook an insult or sacrifice a point of right. With no nation could such a conduct be prudent, and perhaps with none less so, than with the Morattoes as must indeed appear evident from the character I have given of them. All that appears to me necessary is, that no opinion should be hastily adopted from first appearances, that in any disagreeable matter that may occur, we should without suffering our judgment to be biassed by our feelings, endeavor to discover whether it was the effect of accident or intention, and in either case adopt our conduct accordingly; for what might be deemed rashness in the

first case becomes spirit and prudence in the latter. As to any unreasonable claims and demands, which it is so much the disposition of the Morattoes to urge, they ought to be treated as absurd; and all arguments and discussions regarding them ought carefully to be avoided. Every inclination at the same time may be shewn to oblige them; but even the most trifling point ought not to be yielded to them unless they are asked as a favour. Let these be our avowed principles, let our conduct be uniformly consistent with them, and we shall soon succeed in making such an impression[1] on the Morattoes as will render them as reasonable and easy to deal with as any other nation in Hindoostan.

The failure of the negotiation relative to the Prince, and the good understanding which subsisted between the Court at Poonah, and the Government of Bombay, left me little else to do them merely, by counteracting false reports to prevent any misunderstanding between us and Sindia. This however was an easy task. The real fears of some, and the interested views of others had now every where magnified the overgrown power of Sindia, and it was believed that this evil, if not timely checked would ultimately affect the interests of the Vizier and the Company[2]. Various reports were daily spread of the hostile designs of Sindia, which in the general disposition to receive them could not fail to make an immediate and a firm impression. It was the interest of the Mogul Chiefs, and of the neighbouring Rajahs to propagate such reports because an embroilment of Sindia with the English upheld the only prospect to them of deliverance from the yoke with which they were threatened[3]; and the Vizier equally influenced by fear for his future safety and indignation against Sindia for the virtual extinction of his nominal authority in the empire[4], readily adopted these stories and shewed a strong desire to precipitable the English into hostilities against him.

It must be owned that the idea of Sindia's overgrown power was strongly supported by appearances. His success had been at first so rapid and promised to lead[5] to such an unlimited extent of power, as was sufficient in its first impression to have excited the most serious apprehensions of his neighbours[6].

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[1] Sindia confessed openly to Nana that "the British were false and perfidious, blind to all engagements and promises when self interest came in the way." *NHM* III, p. 143.

[2] "In the combination of the Marathas and Mughal States there are circumstances peculiarly alarming to the English and their Allies." (*Browne*, p. 272). One of the important circumstances according to Browne was, "There is now a complete connection of Territory from the remotest parts of Deckan to the Frontier of the Viziers Dominions."

[3] The Maratha agent Govind Purushottam Kale reports to Poona, "the Emperor himself is writing secret letters of encouragement and promises to Mughal Officers under Sindia to revolt and save the Muslim State." *MR* I, p. 140.

[4] When Mahadaji besieged Aligarh fort the Killedar Jahangir Khan (the late Mir Bakshi's brother) appealed the Nawab Wazir for help, as reported by Govind Purushottam Kale. "If this strong fort on the Oudh frontier is secured by the Deccanis, it would be a standing menace to your dominions, as it would be very easy for them to aid Oudh territory from it if you help me......I shall......pay your military expenses. If you wish for it I shall deliver this fort to the English and live as a mere Zamindar of this tract paying you revenue." *Ibid*, Ls. 140, 171.

[5] Cf. *HPMS*, L. 351, wherein a detailed report of extensions of Mahadaji's power is given.

[6] The Sikhs alarmed at the success of Mahadaji Sindia rose in revolt against his authority and started plundering the territory round about Delhi. In this they were instigated by the Mughal Chief, Najaf Quli Khan. *HPMS*, L. 352.

It soon became evident however that he had a variety of difficulties of the most stubborn nature to overcome before he could possibly attain that degree of power which was so much apprehended; and there was great probability, that if not crushed by the magnitude of his own operations, he would at least be involved by them in a perpetual scene of trouble and difficulty[1]. But supposing the case to have been otherwise, I knew not any remedy that we could have had; for there were two fundamental principles that militated against our taking up arms in preventation of this evil; viz., the restriction imposed by the Act of Parliament[2] and the total want of cash[3] to answer such a purpose. It would therefore perhaps have been prudent however suspicious Sindia's conduct might have been, to have supposed the contrary, considering that peace was our only alternative, and that frequently the best way of ensuring it is not to appear appresensive of the contrary. I must declare however that had not these obstacles existed, I should still have considered our system of neutrality as the wisest one that could have been pursued. I had a moral certainly in my mind that if Sindia did acquire that overgrown power which was apprehended, a very long period must in the mean time have elapsed and I was equally certain that the advantages which the Company might derive from such an interval of peace by the disencumberment of their finances, would more than counter-balance his additional power. But I always had and still have my doubts, how far Sindia was likely to succeed in adding to his real strength by his present extensive pursuits[4]. Had he limited his permanent pursuits to the possession of the territories of the Ranna[5], he would have been formidable from his security against any efforts of ours. The case is now different. Whatever opportunities he may have of invading our Ally's

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1 The difficulties that faced Mahadaji Sindia were : opposition from Poona, enmity of Holkar (*PRC* I, L. 108); hostile attitude of the Nawab of Oudh (*Ibid*, Ls. 59, 65); discontent in his army (*Ibid*, Ls. 46-52); Himmat Gosain's intrigues with Sindia's enemies (*Ibid*, Ls. 49, 60).

2 Pitt's India Bill of 1784 became an Act of 1786. "It was declared by this act that, as the pursuit of schemes of conquest was repugnant to the wish, to the honor and the policy of the British nation, it was not lawful for the Governor-General in council of Fort William, without the express authority and concord of the court of directors, or of the secret committee, either to declare or commence hostilities, or to enter into any treaty for making war against any of the native princes or states in India." *Malcolm* (*History*) I, p. 45.

3 The Company was at this time heavily in debt and its commercial credit was very low. The resources of both, Calcutta and Madras, were strained to their furthest limit. That is why while concluding peace with Tipu in 1784, Mackarthney wrote, "Peace was necessary for us, for had war continued for few months more, we must have inevitably sunk under the accumulated burden of our expences." Military Consultations of Dec. 27, 1783 and January 18, 1784, quoted by *Khan*, p. 77.

The directors made a pointed reference to the arrears of 18 crores of rupees yet to be remitted by Hastings, this amount having been used by him for the Company's wars in India. *MR* I, L. 121 (pp. 119-120).

4 "By becoming Regent of the Empire, he must get possession of the Royal forts, the official treasure and the land still subject to the crown." Cf. *Sarkar* III, p. 295.

The task before Mahadaji Sindia is explained by Dinkar Sadashiv in his letter. *HPMS*, L. 339.

5 The Rana of Gohad surrendered himself to Sindia on 25th Feb. 1784, on a general assurance of personal safety and a provision of suitable maintenance. *PRC*. I, L. 6 (p. 9).

dominions[1] he is completely vulnerable in his new acquisitions which by the reduction of a few forts which could be easily accomplished, be entirely at our mercy. It is time that we should not much benefit by such an acquisition, but it cannot on the other hand be admitted, that Sindia on the same principle would be but in a small degree a loser, and that he would be only in the same state as before he embarked in the schemes which led to the possession of them. No power can suffer a loss of part of its territories without being affected in the rest from the consequent loss of reputation and credit, and it is easy to foresee that if the charm by which Sindia now holds his possessions were once broken he would fall headlong into ruin. Considering all these circumstances, I hoped I shall not be deemed paradoxical when a assent my belief that Sindia is not now so formidable a chieftain as he was before his interference in the affairs of the King and that his connexion with the English has been proportionably strengthened, as his political existance now in a great degree depends upon his continuance at peace with us[2].

As to the various reports which were daily propagated of the perfidy and hostile intentions of Sindia, some may perhaps have had a slight foundation in truth, but for the most part they were derived from his connexion[3] with Hummud Buhadre. This man who appeared to enjoy his principal confidence and even to guide most of his measures was avowedly hostile to the Vizier and the English[4]. He was originally a Chelah or adopted slave of Sujah

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[1] It was feared that Sindia would invade the province of Oudh but Hastings in his letter dated 22nd April 1784 from Lucknow read at a meeting of the Calcutta Council held on 11th May 1784 gives his clear opinion that these fears were unfounded. In fact Warren Hastings is full of praise for Mahadaji. He writes, "Much has been said of Sindia's duplicity and falsehood, and inferences have from thence been drawn of his future dangerous designs against the English and their ally the Nabob of Oude. Sindia does not at least deserve this character from us. In all his transactions with the English, I believe I might say in all his transactions that have come to our knowledge, he has shown an uncommon degree of steadiness and sincerity." *Forrest* (*FD*) III, pp. 1087-89.

[2] After becoming Regent, Sindia was compelled to face the turbulent Rajas, intrigues of discontented Muslim Chiefs and the secret dealings of the Emperor against his authority. Above all these, he had to face the stubborn attitude of the Poona Darbar on a question of acceptance of the dignity and title of Wakeel-i-Mutalique for himself. These circumstances encouraged his enemies to resist his authority at Delhi (*HPMS*, L. 400). To overcome the difficulties arising out of these circumstances Sindia had to remain friendly with the British.

[3] Himmat Bahadur, though he never showed open hostility towards British, was a friend of the French (*Browne*, p. 91). He was also instrumental in bringing out murder of Mirza Shafi (*Ibid*, p. 105). Browne expresses the hope that "Sindia will not be induced by the suggestion of ambition, vanity and avarice of Himmat Bahadur." (*Ibid*, p. 207).

But Anderson makes it clear that these reports were exaggerated and that Sindia was not under the impression of Himmat Bahadur. "But Sindia, whatever attention he may have paid him whilst he employed him as an agent, was certainly never under his guidance; and he has now sufficiently shewn his opinion of him, in discarding him at a period like the present." (*PRC* I, p. 18).

Anderson also makes it clear that Sindia was not always influenced by Himmat Bahadur. This can be seen from Anderson's report dt. 1st Nov. 1784. "By dividing Hamdany's guns in equal parts Sindia has given proofs that he is not swayed by the council of Himmat Bahadur as has been reported." (*Ibid*, p. 9).

[4] Browne reports, "When the intended Departure of Mr. Hastings was first known in Sindea's Camp, the evil Advisers of Sindea, headed by Rajah Himut Behadur, began their Machinations." *Browne*, p. 259.

Anderson informs Governor General in his letter dated 2nd Dec. 1784, "I know a report has very generally prevailed that Sindia was much under the influence of this man (Himmat Bahadur) who is known to be hostilely inclined to the English and their ally the Vizier." *PRC* I, pp. 17-18.

Dowlah[1] but soon after his death he quitted the service of the present Vizier, and afterwards entered into various connexions in all of which his conduct had been uniformly treacherous and deceitful. Though his character seems every where to have been held in detestation, he was yet possessed of some abilities and Sindia soon found that he might be usefully employed to facilitate his objects at the Court of Dehly[2]. With this view he gave him full power to act as his agent and from a knowledge of his ostentation and vanity he thought it necessary on many occasions to appear to be guided by his councils when in fact he was only using him as an instrument to advance his other purposes. I was myself under no uneasiness about this connection, dangerous as it was supposed to be to the interests of the English because Sindia as far as was consistent with prudence did give me a hint of the real motives for his attention to this man, and from a comparison of this circumstance with others that fell under my own observation I had the most perfect conviction that a period would soon be put to this friendship. This belief I did intimate in several of my public letters[3] and I had the satisfaction to find that in a very short time it was completely verified[4].

Sindia arrived at Deig on the 5th of January (1785), and remained there until the end of February. During this time he was busily employed in taking measures for the reduction of Agrah[5], the settlement of a Pacific Agreement[6] with the Seiks and in various other arrangements[7]. It was at this period that the Governor General Mr. Hastings proceeded to Europe leaving the Government to Mr. Macpherson. The intelligence of this intention gave Sindia much uneasiness, both because he entertained a sincere esteem for his character and because, sensible of the jealousy which his pursuits had excited as well amongst the English as the subjects of the Vizier, he was not without apprehension lest he should not experience an equal degree of friendship from the new Governor. When he learned that Mr. Hastings was irrevocably determined to leave India he wrote letters[8] for him to deliver to the King and Company, in which he expressed in the strongest terms his high respect for his character and the general benefits which Hindoostan had derived from his virtues and knowledge. These I am convinced were his real sentiments; for he continued to latest period of my stay to make the same respectful mention of him; altho' I have reason to believe that before my departure,

1 Gosavi Himmat Bahadur was slave or *Chella* of Sujah'ud Dowla. *SMR* (*U*) II, p. 56.

2 Mahadaji was under the influence of Himmat Bahadur for two years. *Ibid*, p. 87.

3 Anderson described several occasions on which Himmat Bahadur was neglected by Sindia. He gives details of instances in his letters dated 15th Nov., 16 Nov., 25th Nov., 10th Dec. (1784), and 23rd March 1785. *PRC* I, Ls. 7, 9-11.

4 From a letter of Dinkar Sadashiv, written possibly in 1788, it is seen that Mahadaji had now broken away from the influence of Himmat Bahadur. *AT* IV, pp. 9-11.

5 Agra was occupied by Captain Rayaji Patil on behalf of Sindia on 26th March 1785. *PRC* I, Ls. 10, 12.

6 Sindia's engagements and negotiations for peace with the Sikhs are explained by Anderson in his letters dt. 14th and 15th May 1785. Details of negotiations are based on Sindia's treaty with the Sikhs. *Ibid* Ls. 14, 15, 15A.

7 Francklin gives the various achievements of Sindia in the first year of his regency. *Francklin*, pp. 132, 134.

8 Mahadaji Sindia was much distressed at the departure of Hastings to England as can be seen from his letter to the King of England. *CPC* VII, L. 15.

This and other letters which Mahadaji wrote to the King were sent by Mahadaji at the instance of Khairuddin (an author of *Ibrat Namah*) who was in the employ of Anderson and who was induced to influence Mahadaji in sending these letters. *Ibrat Namah* II, 103.

he was no ignorant of the unfavourable aspect which the prosecution against him then bore, yet he continued with respect to him the same language of friendship and affection.

The change of Government occasioned no alteration either my own situation or what is more important in regard to our connection with Sindia. I received early assurances to this effect from Mr. Macpherson, and they were fully verified to me during the whole course of his Government.

It may not be here improper to mention that before the army marched from Deig to Agrah, a party of Seiks made an inroad into the Vizier's dominions and did considerable damage to one of his towns in Rohilcund[1]. This matter became chiefly of consequence, as it gave rise to a report, that it had been abetted by Sindia, altho' there is every reason to believe that it proceeded entirely from the tempting opportunity which was offered to these plunderers from the unguarded state of the province. At least I never could trace any other grounds for it, excepting a foolish speech said to have been made on the occasion by Himmut Buhadre, which was eagarly caught at by such as wished the Report to be believed.

Sindia arrived at Agrah about the beginning of March and having obtained possession of the place towards the latter part of the month, he proceeded, about the beginning of April to Muttrah[2], where he remained till the end of the ensuing October[3] (1785). Of the events which happened during this interval, the King's claim of the tribute due from the province of Bengal etc., under the support and apparently at the instigation of Sindia is the most important. I shall therefore give the History of it from the beginning to the end without suffering it to be interrupted by any other details.

About the end of February, or the beginning of March, I accidentally heard that it had been in agitation at the King's Durbar, to have seized the opportunity offered by the accession of a new Governor to have renewed the claim for the arrears of tribute due by the English for the provinces of Bengal etc., but that this matter having come to the ears of Major Browne he had so effectually exerted his influence to prevent it, that all further thoughts of it had been entirely dropt[4]. About the 20th of March, I received a letter from the Board, advising me of their having recalled Major Browne, and that the King had been informed[5] that I would be on the spot, ready to forward all communications between him and the English Government. I went immediately afterwards to Major Browne, from whom I learnt that as the greatest part of his baggage was at Dehly, from whence he must send for it. It would be at least a month before he could have the camp. He further informed me, that having

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[1] The Sikh Sardars around Delhi united, crossed the Ganges and invaded the Wazir's dominions. *Ibid,* II, 104.

[2] Cf. *PRC* I, L. 12.

[3] The Maratha agent, Kale writes a letter (dt. 15th Oct. 1785) to Nana from Mahadaji's camp at Mathura. *MR* I, L. 140.

[4] "When the subject was repeatedly brought forward, I found means to gain His Majesty's Ministers so effectually to the English interest, that His Majesty's representations on this head never exceeded a general complaint of his distress for money." *Browne,* L. 134, p. 243.

[5] The Governor-General, in a letter dt. 1st March 1785 addressed to the Emperor, informs him of the recall of Major Browne to Calcutta from Delhi and the appointment of J. Anderson in his place. *Ibid,* L. 130, p. 238.

communicated to His Majesty[1], the Board's orders for his return, he had received it with the most indignant expressions of displeasure. He did also in a casual manner acquaint me that as Sindia had thought proper according to the general custom of the King's Ministers, to accompany one from the King he was ready if I chose to send it to me forward. I diclined it on the principle of its falling more immediately within his province, as barely merely a letter of form, in his capacity of Minister to the King—This letter[2], as I have since understood, was the identical one, in which Sindia supported the King's demand of the tribute[3], and I was fortunate in having thus avoided to be the ignorant instrument of a conduct so unworthy of any British subject, but still more of a Minister of that Government. I had however no other object in declining to forward the letter than that of compliment to Major Browne; for I most solemnly declare that at the time, I had not the smallest knowledge nor even the most distant suspicion of the offensive nature of its contents[4].

I did hear, a few days after my conversation with Major Browne, that independent of the reasons he had assigned to me for his stay, the King had ordered to protract his departure[5], till an answer should be received to a letter he had written to the Governor General on the occasion; in which I understood likewise that there were some threats about the tribute[6]; but I had still no information of their having been made with the knowledge and sanction of Sindia, and I considered any threats simply from the King as a matter of no moment. In this state of ignorance I continued until the beginning of April, when to my great astonishment I learned from Major Palmer that Major Browne had acquainted him, that the King having made a formal demand for the tribute of our provinces had ordered him to stay at his Court until he should receive an answer, and that this measure had been strongly seconded, and supported by Sindia[7]. Astonished as I was at this intelligence, I could not help considering it in a less serious light than I should otherwise have done, when I reflected upon the suspicious circumstances with which it was attended, in the period of it so critically connected with that of Major Browne's Recall, and in the cautious manner in which it had been kept concealed from me. At any rate the time did not appear to me to be a favourable one for taking notice of it to Sindia; I contented myself therefore with writing to the Board a letter in my own vindication, in which I stated to them the state of ignorance with regard to this transaction in which I had been kept by Major Browne, and the Channel through which I had afterwards received intelligence of it. In this letter my only object was my own vindication; but as this point did in some degree involve the criminality of Major Browne, I thought it proper to furnish him with a copy of it. The letter which I received from him in reply, did not

1 Cf. *Ibid,* L. 130.

2 Cf. *CPC,* VII, L. 120.

3 Cf. *Ibrat Namah* II, 107.

4 Cf. *Ibid.*

5 Browne to the Emperor : "Has forwarded the Royal *Shuqqa* to the Governor-General and in obedience to his Majesty's commands is staying here." *CPC* VII, L. 145.

6 In his letter of 2nd April 1785, His Majesty desired Browne to wait upon him in order to complete the negotiations on the subject of Bengal tribute. *Ibid,* L. 204.

7 Sindia asked Browne to request Governor-General (Macpherson) to send Bengal tribute without delay. "On this point His Majesty has repeatedly ordered me (Mahadaji), but out of regard for my friendship with the English I have neglected to carry out his orders. I am now speaking thus not by command of the Emperor but on my own behalf." *Ibrat Namah* II, 108-9.

in any shape tend to remove the unfavourable impression which his conduct had before made upon me.

About the middle of April (1785), Major Browne, in consequence of the Representation he had forwarded from the King received a letter from the Governor General, severely censuring his conduct and ordering him in the most peremptory manner to quit the camp immediately[1]. He prepared then in good earnest to proceed to Calcutta, and his audience of leave with the King was fixed on the 19th instant[2]. I did intend to have accompanied him that day to the King's Durbar, but was prevented by a severe indisposition; and it was with extreme concern I learned in the evening from general report that some extraordinary language had been held by the King to him, and which had received such a degree of countenance from Sindia as gave reason to believe that it had been prompted by him[3].

Next day Major Browne in consequence of my application to him furnished me with a written report of the whole conversation which materially agreed with what I had before heard[4]. I must confess that I was astonished beyond measure at so unaccountable a conduct in Sindia; but I saw clearly that after so wanton an insult to the English Government, after so flagrant an abuse of the delicacy of our friendship to him, no time was to be lost in manifesting our sense of it. With this view, I draw up a remonstrance in the Persian language, in which after openly charging him with the deceit and perfidy of his conduct, I declared that my confidence in him was now entirely shaken, and that I had therefore come to the fixed resolution of quitting his camp on the ensuing day[5]. This paper was read to him in his public Durbar on the 21st instant, by a confidential servant of my own in the presence of Lt. Stewart and Mr. Wilkinson whom I had sent purposely to witness the ceremony and it is not easy to describe the embarrassment and perplexity into which Sindia was thrown upon the occasion. He attempted to vindicate his conduct to these Gentlemen but finding that they would not listen to him in consequence of the instructions I had given them, to avoid any agreement or discussion with him, he declared his intention of coming immediately in person to me, and ordered his Retinue and his elephants to be instantly got ready[6].

It was about 12 o'clock of the day, when Sindia attended by four or five of his principal confidents came to me; and the excessive heat at that time joined to a severe indisposition rendered me so exceedingly weak that it was with difficulty I was able to set up. Yet in this state Sindia kept me near two hours, and it is impossible for me to describe the anxiety and solicitude which he betrayed, by a denial of most of the circumstances imputed to him,

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1 Letter from Macpherson to Browne, dt. 3rd April. *Browne,* L. 140.

2 Browne's meeting with the King did not take place on 19th (April). At the instance of Sindia, it took place on *20th. Ibid,* L. 143.

But in *Ibrat Namah* (II, 208), it is mentioned as *19th.*

3 Sindia in his address to Browne states that he is speaking to Browne as a friend of the English and in no official capacity. *Browne,* p. 254.

4 *Ibid,* pp. 253-255; *Ibrat Namah* II, 108.

5 Anderson writes to Sindia informing the latter of his departure from Sindia's Camp to the Company's territory. *CPC* VII, L. 200.

6 Sindia visited Anderson twice in his tent and gave him assurances in writing that he would not show any high handed attitude to the Company in future. *Ibid* L. 211.

and by explaining away others, to divert me from the measures which I had threatened[1]. I remember that amongst other topics which he urged for my stay was that of my own private interest. My brother, to whom he always gives the appellation of his brother, had, he understood acquired great fame for the settlement of the peace, and he wished me to consider in what a different light, I would be held, if in consequence of the measure I now threatened, I should become the breaker of it. He disavowed his knowledge of the letter imputed to him, offered to declare this under his seal, and in short appeared willing to make me any concessions I chose, provided I would agree to stay[2].

The conversation of Sindia made a considerable impression upon me, and I felt myself under a great degree of embarrassment. From an idea that a conduct so deceitful as his had appeared to me, would not be atoned for by any counter declarations which he might afterwards make, I had in my remonstrance declared my absolute determination to quit his camp without reserving to myself any conditions by which I might retract; and I had been always of opinion that the reputation and credit of the English Government, was intimately concerned in a sacred fulfilment of such declarations, as we might otherwise subject ourselves to the imputation of acting as Bullies. On the present occasion however, the attonement that had been made was so reasonable, and so much more public and notorious than the execution of my threats. Still however I was unwilling to agree too readily to this meeting was on the grounds of my being unable any longer to discuss the matter that day, to suspend my intended journey on the ensuing day, that Sindia might return and renew the subject.

After the departure of Sindia, it became necessary for me to consider maturely the part I ought then to take-vexed as I was at first with his conduct he had now shewn a disposition to attone for it to the utmost of his power, and from the issue to which the matter might now be brought I could not help considering it as likely to prove a fortunate event on the whole for the interests of the Company. It seemed at least to prove what I had uniformly asserted in opposition to the general opinion of others, that Sindia placed his dependence entirely on the continuance of his friendship with us[3]; and it afforded a clear proof to the neighbouring powers that our present system of peace and neutrality did not proceed from any fear of the power of Sindia[4]. On the other hand I considered that if I carried the measure into execution, it was most probable, in the disposition of the vizier and his Ministers, and in the nature of our connection with the prince, that we should have been soon involved in hostilities with him; and the ruin of all his schemes, from the possession of the King's person which would most likely have been the consequence of my departure, would, in that event, have been purchased as too dear a price[5].

These considerations determined me to accept of Sindia's proffered satisfaction; and accordingly when he came to me the next day and delivered to me

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1 *Ibid*, L. 211.

2 *Ibid*, Ls. 205, 211.

3 Bhau Bakshi continuously exerted to preserve the friendship between the English and Mahadaji Sindia. *Ibid*, L. 237.

4 Attempts were made by the French, Sikhs and other Indian powers to influence Sindia against the English, but he declined to be guided by them. Some of the Indian princes also urged upon the English to obstruct Sindia in his road to power. But they declined to follow this line. *Ibid*, L. 151.

5 Consequences of hostilities between the Sindia and the English (if they took place) are described in detail by Anderson in his review. *PRC* I, L. 65.

letters from His Majesty and himself disavowing their knowledge of the demand of tribute I agreed to remain. Both letters were indeed highly satisfactory[1].

That from the King, in particular, not only declared that he had not made such a demand but that as he considered the English to be his best friends he certainly never would think of doing it. I doubt not, but that if I had chosen to make the experiment, I might at that time have obtained from the King a formal renunciation of the claim, but I thought it more suitable to the interest and dignity of the English Government to confine myself entirely to a reparation for the injury offered, than to attach such an idea of consequence to the claim as it would have received by my soliciting a renunciation of it. If we had obtained it, it would have been of no use, for it is in the weakness of the King and not in his assurances that we must put our trust; and it is absurd to suppose that his renunciation of the claim would hereafter operate either with himself or others, in case, what is not very probable he should find himself in circumstances to assert it[2].

The Governor General and Council approved highly of my conduct on this occasion[3], and I had the satisfaction to find that I had anticipated the orders which I received from them very shortly after the completion of the business[4]. I had the greatest reason likewise to rejoice at the consequences of the measure. It gave a check in a very favourable moment to the progress of Sindia; and it tended in an equal degree to raise the confidence of the Vizier, and his subjects which probably has been and may continue to be the means of preserving the peace; for there was always reason to apprehend that if a war did ensue between the Vizier and Sindia, it must have proceeded more from the fears of the parties than from any other cause[5].

The conduct of Sindia throughout the whole of this affair so repugnant to his real interests and so contrary to the prudence and wisdom he had always before shewn will undoubtedly appear surprising and unaccountable. I am unwilling however to enter more particularly into this matter than generally to observe, that without any dependance on reports and circumstances which I afterwards heard, I am inclined to believe from the statement of facts I have here given that he took no very active part in the measure. One part of his conduct in particular and that which apparently admits of the best palliation has and have reason to think been misstated. I have already mentioned his having joined with the King in the improper language[6] which he held to Major Browne on

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1 Cf. *CPC* VII, L. 211.

2 In the *Calcutta Gazette*, the following notice appeared on the date 12th May 1785 :— "Mr. Anderson was immediately instructed to inform Sindia that his interference in such demands would be considered in the light of direct hostility and a breach of our treaty with the Marattas; and Shah Alam was to be informed that the justice of the English to his illustrious house could never admit the interference or recommendation of their powers, and could alone flow from their voluntary liberality." Quoted by *Keene* (*Fall*), pp. 149-150.

3 The Notice in the *Calcutta Gazette* (dt. 12th May 1785) speaks thus—"The effects which Mr. Anderson's remonstrance produced are very satisfactory and creditable to Government, and such explanations have followed upon the part of Sindia, as most eventually strengthen our alliance with the Mahrattas, expose the designs of Secret enemies and secure the general tranquillity of India." *Ibid*, p. 150.

4 The Directors reject Sindia's demand for tribute from Bengal. *SPDD* No. 32 of 1785, pp. 307-10.

5 This is explained to the Wazir by the English, *CPC* VII, L. 233.

6 See note 3 on page 48.

his audience of leave, and it was asserted that so far from avoiding this occasion of offence, he eagerly sought for it by having suspended the interview for a day, merely that he might have an opportunity of being present. The fact is true but there is reason to believe that it proceeded from an other motive than that here imputed to it. Sindia was at some distance on a ceremony of ablution when he heard that Major Browne had solicited his audience of leave from the King[1], and he was informed at the same time that he meant to take that opportunity of venturing his spleen against him by openly advising his Majesty to beware of his treachery. This intelligence, which from the known sentiments of the Major towards him, he had no hesitation in believing, gave him great uneasiness, and with a view of guarding as much as possible against the consequences, he prevailed on his Majesty to defer the interview until the ensuing day, when he might himself be present[2].

After all, however, it was fortunate, that I had so good an opening to humble the pride of Sindia, for whether or not he in reality merited it, on this particular occasion, he began now in his general conduct to exhibit a mind, in a high degree intoxicated with success. His attention to the King from motives of policy, was and has been most respectful and I must do him the justice to say that in administering to his wants he has I believe been more liberal than his Mogul predecessors[3]. The sum he has fixed for his allowances is one Laak and twenty[4] thousand Rupees per mensem, but from this is defrayed the expense of one or two Battalions with their artillery which are attendant on his person, apparently to do him honor, but, in reality to secure his person. With respect to the principal officers of the King however, Sindia has been less delicate[5]. At first he affected to continue some of them in their employments, but he soon found means not only to dispossess them, in favour of his own dependants[6] but also to confine many of them on pretence of some misconduct. All this was indeed natural and such as might have been expected but he began to depart from that mildness and moderation to his own people which had before uniformly marked his conduct and to substitute in their place a degree of pride and hauteur, which are as sure amongst the Morattoes to beget disaffection,

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[1] Cf. *Browne,* p. 254.

[2] *Ibid,* L. 143.

[3] Sindia agreed to a privy purse of Rupees one lakh and thirty thousand a month for the Emperor. *MR* I, L. 138.

Afrasiyab, the previous regent, fixed this amount at Rupees one lakh and twenty thousand. *Ibid,* L. 84 ; *Sarkar* III, p. 240.

[4] Anderson's figure is slightly incorrect as he was no party to consultations in this matter. Govind Purushottam Kale of Mahadaji's camp gives the figure at one lakh and thirty thousand rupees. *MR* I, L. 138. *Sarkar* (III, p. 296) agrees with this.

[5] At the commencement of his regency Sindia now adjusted certain offices. Under this arrangement two or more offices were entrusted to one officer thus reducing the number of officers and ensuring economy of administration. Certain officers were replaced by other of his own choice. The office of the Diwan or Superintendent of revenue which was under the management of Dayaram was bestowed on Narayan Dass, a person of capacity and a skilful financier (*Francklin,* p. 138).

"Lala Naibat Rai, a beggarly *mutassadi,* who was in need of even a post worth four rupees was created by him a Raja, *mukhtar* and a high *mansabdar.*" (*Ibrat Namah* III, 1-2).

[6] Ladoji Sitole, Murar Rao Daulat, Anand Rao Narsi, Kesopant, and Nathamal Munshi were appointed as Karbharis of Delhi (*MR* I, L. 138). "Shah Nizam Al Deen, a confidential servant of the Minister was appointed to the superintendance of the Royal household." (*Francklin,* p. 143). Ambaji Ingle was appointed in charge of Delhi and Sikh affairs. (*MR* I, L. 127).

as the opposite qualities are to produce attachment and regard. I have frequently before Sindia's great accession of power had occasion to observe the affability and good humour with which he conducted himself towards his Chiefs; and tho' I never had an opportunity myself to see any display of pride or haughtiness, yet I heard generally that such a visible alteration had taken place in his conduct towards his own immediate affairs, as had tended greatly to disgust the whole of them. In particular I was informed of a circumstance said to have passed between him and his most confidential friend Ranna Cawn[1] who is in a manner Sindia's Mentor, and of whom I shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter observing many imprudences and improprieties in his Master's behaviour, took the liberty of speaking to him on the occasion[2]. He endeavoured to sit before him the many difficulties he had then to encounter and in order to smooth these as much as possible he insisted strongly on the necessity of a more accommodating disposition. Sindia coolly replied that he put entire confidence in his peer or tutelary guardian[3]. This the other observed was proper provided he did not neglect on his part the necessary exertions for it was in vain he said to expect the fulfilment of predictions unless aided by our own endeavours; and in proof of this, he is said to have told him a story of a man who having consulted his *peer* about a child, was informed that he should have one in the space of a year, but that having from an excessive confidence in his *peer* neglected the necessary exertions of his own, he was disappointed accordingly. This story is said to have excited such indignation in Sindia that he could not help telling his friend that his evil hour was near, as he seemed to express doubts of the efficacy of his *peer,* and Ranna Cawn was obliged for some days, by the most submissive behaviour to stone for his imprudence.

There is no part of Sindia's conduct which, to those who are ignorant of the manners of the East may appear more unaccountable than his connexion with and attachment to his *peer,* or as I have already translated it his tutelary guardian. Superstition and an overweaning confidence in his own good fortune seem to be the two prominent features of Sindia's character, and these two principles will in some degree serve to explain this difficulty; for an attachment to a *Peer* seems to be nothing more than a superstitious personification of good fortune. The most unaccountable part of Sindia's conduct however in this case seems to be that of his attachment to a Mussulman *Peer,* tho' he himself is a Hindoo. The common story told on this occasion is, that Sindia when he was a very young man, having gone to consult a celebrated Mussulman Fuckeer in his neighbourhood, was treated by him with uncommon attention, and was foretold by him of many of those circumstances of good fortune which have since befallen him. From that period Sindia continued much attached to this man and affected to be guided by him in every thing.

[1] Rana Khan Bhai, a Muhammadan water-carrier, who saved Mahadaji's life by removing him when wounded at the battle of Panipat to a place of safety. Sindia called him his 'brother' (*Bhai*) and raised him to high command. Rana Khan's conduct proved that he was worthy of his master's confidence. He was one of Sindia's ablest generals. *Browne,* p. 347.

[2] Character of Rana Khan Bhai is referred to by Anderson in his letter dt. 15th June 1786 to the Governor-General. *PRC* I, p. 105.

[3] Sindia's *peer* was Shah Mansur, a *Darvesh* who had foretold Mahadaji's future greatness, when the young Sindia was roaming through the streets of Poona in poverty, and unemployment. Sindia made this *Darvesh* his spiritual guide and lavished gifts on his family. *Natu,* p. 88; *Chitnis, Ram Raje Charitra,* 37.

Since his death[1] which happened some years ago in the Deckan he has regularly set aside every Thursday evening for the celebration of his memory which he performs with many circumstances of superstition, veneration; and sometimes he consults his spirit, by piling up a heap of flowers from which by the observance of some particular ceremonies he is able to foresee the issue of the measure in agitation. I need not say that the answer of the dead saint is generally contrived to be favourable; tho' I must say that on some occasions I have heard of its being the reverse. I myself indeed inclined to believe that the superstition of Sindia, has on the whole a great mixture of sincerity with it; and is not always assumed for political purposes as the world are in general apt to suspect in men of ambition like him. Certain it is that on many occasions he has suffered as much uneasiness from the occurrence of unfortunate omens as ever he received joy from the contrary. In particular I remember when one of his magazines blew up, which is supposed to be a very inauspicious omen, he was plunged into a state of the most immoderate grief, in which he continued for several days, and which so soured his temper that five of his Chiefs durst approach him and they were obliged to employ every means in their power to sooth him into good humour.

With respect to the Mussulman *Peers,* it is proper to remark that all the virtues and merits of the father descend as it were by inheritence to the children, provided they follow his example,. in abstaining from service or a dependence upon any one. Accordingly Sindia pays the same respect to the son of Shaw Munsoor as he used to do to the father. In the year 1785 he came from the Deccan to camp, and not only Sindia but even the King went to a considerable distance to meet him. During the short time he remained in camp, Sindia went twice a day to visit him and stood before him with great respect. He has likewise conferred upon him the hundredth part of his revenues in Malwa and I did hear that in order to please his vanity he had prevailed on the King to confer upon him a similar grant of the revenue of Hindoostan. He is a young man of about 20 years of age, possessed neither of sense nor learning and extremely haughty and disgusting in his manner.

There are many of these holymen amongst the Mussulmen who take the titles of Shaw or King, as Shaw Munsoor of whom I have been speaking and who to assume a throne and other insignia of royalty; and these marks of distinction have not only been yielded to them by their own immediate disciples and connections but by the world in general and even by Kings themselves. Their origin and progress may be traced to that veneration which the ignorant in all ages have paid to ascetics. However despicable the character of a cynic may appear in the eye of wisdom, there is something apparently grand in the conduct of a man who has freed himself from any dependence on others; who is satisfied with the common fruits of the land when he is hungry nor looks further than the river when he is thirsty; and it is probable that this idea first suggested the propriety of the application of Shaw or King a word marking superiority to such only as from the conquest of their wants had acquired an independance of others. Where, their own vanity or the flattery of their disciples had fixed this title upon them, they were naturally led, in the same spirit of pride not to assume in reality thrones and crowns, for that was as little in their power as it was inconsistent with their professions, but to dignity their wretched caps and carpets with these pompous title. Kings either

[1] Shah Mansur lies buried at Bhir (in the Nizam's territory). Mahadaji used to visit this place often. *PRC* I, p. 383 note 1.

infected with the same weakness as others, or seeing the impossibility to resist the general respect paid to these men by their subjects, thought proper to confirm these titles, and as being of little consequence, the original possessors found no difficulty in transmitting them by way of inheritance to their heirs.

Such probably is the origin of many of those Shaws, who are so common in Hindoostan and who boast a hereditary right to all the insignia of royalty. They are with a few exceptions men of a very despicable character being in general as destitute of knowledge as they are full of pride and arrogance. I had at two different times an opportunity of seeing a vast concourse of them assembled, when their behaviour was such that scarcely could either the solemnity of the occasions or the presence in which I was, prevent me from giving way to laughter. Once every year the King is

THE LEGEND OF NANASAHEB (DHONDOPANT NANA)

The end of Nanasaheb, of 1857, fame, has round it an air of mystery which has excited the imagination of people from time to time during the last hundred and odd years. A memorial was raised to him at Bithur in 1957, the centenary year of 1857, claimed by many as our first fight in our " Freedom-Struggle ", Centenary celebrations commemorating the rising of 1857, have been organised all over the country and quite a few places came forward claiming that they had the privilege of giving shelter to Nanasaheb the leader of the rising and the last of the Peshwas. Some of these claims came to the Secretariat Record Office for investigation. During the course of these investigations we found a considerable mass of material in Government files regarding the search for the real or imaginary Nanasaheb from time to time. Selections from this material is now placed before readers. We have also brought together news items and extract from contemporary newspapers relating to Nanasaheb, and we have added a section giving extracts from books which have touched upon this topic.

Nanasaheb was the adopted son of Bajirao II. Bajirao, having no male issue, persuaded Madhav Narayan Bhat of Vengaon, a village in Karjat Taluka, to offer to the deposed Peshwa his three sons for adoption. The eldest of these was named Dhondopant and his adoption was solemnised on 7th June, 1827. This was Nanasaheb of 1857 fame known as Nana Gadri or erroneously in Maharashtra as Nana Gardi. Nana's younger brother Sadashivrao Dadasaheb and Gangadharrao or Balasaheb were also adopted by Bijirao some years after the first ceremony was completed. Sadashiv died sometime after his adoption, but his son Raosaheb stayed with Bajirao and then with Nana. Both Raosaheb and Balasaheb, mentioned in Government documents as Balarao, were with Nanasaheb in his vicissitudes and struggle with the English.

It is not necessary here to trace the origin and development of the conflagration of 1857 about which so much has been written. Nanasaheb, the eldest adopted son of the last Peshwa, disgusted by the behaviour of the British towards him, made up his mind to overthrow their odious and unwelcome authority. Thanks to the policy followed by Lord Dalhousie, circumstances in the country were most favourable for organising a revolt against the British. Nanasaheb threw himself with enthusiasm and energy into leading the great discontent that was brewing against the administration of the Company. The results of this struggle are part of our history known to everybody.

The last encounter between Nanasaheb and the forces of the Company took place at Cawnpore. In this the leader of the revolt was defeated and on 16th July, 1857, he left Cawnpore mercilessly pursued by Gen. Havelock[1], till at last with a small retinue, he crossed the *Tarai* into Nepal. He had with him Saibai, the widow of Bajirao II, Krishnabai, his own wife, Kashibai, the wife of his brother Balarao, Balarao himself and a few other male companions.

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[1] *Major General Havelock, Sir Henry,* was born on April 5, 1795; went into the Army in 1815. He became Adjutant-General in 1855. He occupied Cawnpore after defeating Nana on July 16, 1857. *DIB* pp. 195-6.

L-C H 3193—5

Jung Bahadur[1], the prime minister of Nepal specially deputed Kedar Narsingh, Nepalee general, to receive the royal refugee and his party. Jung Bahadur's terms were simple. The Peshwa ladies were to put themselves under Nepalese protection and Nana Saheb had to look after himself[2].

The story of Nanasaheb after his defeat at Cawnpore has assumed many forms. In their anxiety to punish Nanasaheb the English zealously pursued every person whom they even remotely suspected of Nana Saheb's identity. The English attitude in this respect was undoubtedly one of panic and many shrewd persons took advantage of their nervousness and claimed that they had information about the rebel leader which might lead to his capture. Even Jung Bahadur played on this weakness.

It was generally believed that Nanasaheb had died of fever in the Terai district of Nepal about two years after crossing into that country. But there was no official confirmation from the Nepal Darbar of this event. The first intimation of it received by the Indian Government was contained in a letter addressed to them by Lt. Colonel Ramsay, British Resident in Nepal. This letter (8th October 1859), informs the Government of India that Jung Bahadur had received intimation from Siddhiman Singh, the Nepalese Officer of the Terai province, that Nanasaheb had died on 24th September, 1859. Jung Bahadur, however, observed an enigmatic silence on this point. He showed by his attitude, word and gesture that he was not quite convinced about the reports of the death of Nanasaheb. Indeed as late as in November 1861 Jung Bahadur stated to Dr. Oldfield, the Residency Surgeon in Kathmandu, "I admit that I have some doubt in my mind whether he (Nana) is really dead.".

The Government of India in their attempt to dispel this mist of uncertainty which hung over the end of Nanasaheb, pursued possible suspects all over the country. Rumours floated in various provinces, states and cities to the effect that Nana, so earnestly and eagerly sought for by the British, was here, there and everywhere. Quite a few reports current in Maharashtra, Gujarat and elsewhere tell the story that Nanasaheb was alive till about 40 years ago. Latest of these reports was from the Banaskantha District. Nanasaheb under the name of Dudha-hari Maharaj is supposed to have spent his last years in secret retirement at Koteshwar near Danta where he expired in 1917. Considerable controversy exists, even to-day, about the date of Nanasaheb's actual death. He is said to have escaped into Tibet *via* Nepal and Assam, while others think he made his way into China from Nepal. He was said to be in or around Gwalior about 1864, and at Anandpur near Rajkot about ten years later. He is reported in Manipur and even in Java ! In 1897 a rumour thrilled all Maharashtra that Nanasaheb lay dying somewhere in Russia. In 1913 a political informant offered to bring Nanasaheb to Sir Charles Cleveland, a high ranking official of the C. I. D. There were elderly people in Poona, who believed that Nana used to visit the capital of the Peshwas to perform the

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[1] *Jung Bahadur, Koonwar Ranaji, Maharaja Sir (1816-77)*, was made Commander in Chief in the Nepalese Army in 1834. He became the Prime Minister of Nepal in 1846. It was his policy to keep on good terms with the English. He assisted the British in the Mutiny by sending a force of Gurkhas to Oudh. He died at Purthurghatta on 25th Feb. 1877. *DIB.* p. 221.

[2] P. Landon : *Nepal* Vol. I, p. 158.

annual *Shraddha* of his father. All these, however, were rumours made current by lovers of romance and not improbably perhaps by those who were anxious to lay a trail of red herrings for the British authorities to pursue. That the administrators did not summarily dismiss these wild rumours is true. Anxious enquiries were in most cases ordered though secretly. The British were not sure whether Nanasaheb was really dead. They declared a large prize of Rs. 50,000 on his head. This brought forward many informers who told tales more fit for a book of romance than sober history.

As indicated already it was officially ascertained that Nanasaheb had died in Nepal Terai in 1859. The Governor General in his despatches to the Court of Directors of 1858-59 has repeatedly referred to the fact. Col. G. Ramsay, British Resident in Nepal at this time, writing to Mr. C. Beadon, a member of the Supreme Council, reported that sometime in 1858-59 he knew that the Peshwa ladies in Katmandu were in mourning. Major General Harris, stationed on the Gogra near the Terai border in 1858, writing to the editor of the *Cornhill Magazine,* mentions that news came to him about Nanasaheb's illness due to fever, in the Terai and that two of his Subhedar, tempted by the price put on the leader's head, had gone out in search of him but returned disappointed, stating that he had died of fever.

The most reliable evidence however was made public in 1913, through the *Kesari*[1], Poona, by the historian Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade. Rajwade had met Bayabaisaheb[2] Apte, the last surviving daughter of Bijirao II who was with Nanasaheb in 1858 in Nepal Terai, and that Nanasaheb expired on *Bhadravad Vadya Chaturdashi, Shake 1780* (6th October 1858).

I

REWARD AND ITS CLAIMANTS.

Rs. 50,000 offered for Nana.

[*Government of India announced a reward of Rs. 50,000 for the apprehension of Nana of Bithur. As the proclamation, in the initial stages had limited application, officers from other regions sought clarification and were informed that the reward would be given to any one from any where in India.*

On the information, one Kashinath Apte, from Poona, misunderstanding perhaps the terms and the object of the reward, offered to negotiate as an intermediary between the Government of India and the " Enemy Nana ". Apte seems to make a case that he is an extremely loyal citizen of the Government while the " enemy Nana " is causing untold suffering to the loyal people. It is difficult to understand how and on what strength Apte offers his services to negotiate and how also he claims the amount of the reward which is for apprehension of Nana. The offer of Apte was summarily rejected but instructions were issued to watch him carefully as he might have secret contacts with Nana, to whom he was distantly related.]

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1 *The Kesari*—11th February 1913.

2 In 1858 the British authorities gave the age of Bayabai Saheb, daughter of Baji Rao II as 12. *P.D. 1858,* Vol. 76, p. 83.

P. D. Vol. No. 76 of 1858.

(Page 83).

Descriptive Roll of Nana Rao: 1858.

Name ...	... Nana Rao (Dhondoo Punt)
Caste ...	... Dekhany Brahmin.
Age ...	... 36.
Complexion ...	... Fair.
Stature and personal appearance ...	5 feet, 8 inches, powerful appearance and stout.
Form of face ...	... Flat and round.
Form of Nose ...	... Straight and well shaped.
Form of Eyes ...	... Large round eyes.
Teeth ...	... Regular.
Marks on Face ...	... .
Colour of Hair ...	... Black.
Ring marks (holes) on Ears	... Yes.
Remarks ...	... Has the features of a Maharatta, strongly depicted; on one of his toes has a lancet mark; and at present by wearing a beard, he presents a Mahomedan appearance. A servant with a cut ear never leaves his side.

No. 259 Secret. (Page 1).*

SURAT.

Reward has been proclaimed for the capture of the Miscreant Nana Saheb of Bhettoor (Bithur).

No. 666 of 1857. (Page 3), **Secret Department:**

From

George Inverarity[1], Esquire, Magistrate of Surat.

To

A. Bettington[2] Esquire, Commissioner of Police.

11th November 1857.

Sir,

I beg the favor of being informed whether any reward has been proclaimed by Government for the capture of the Miscreant Nana Saheb.

[1] Appointed in 1839, date of promotion as Collector and Magistrate 12-3-1852, (*The Bombay Almanac and Book of Direction for 1858* page 323).

[2] Inspector General of Prisons since 1850 also Commissioner of Mofussil Police in the Bombay Presidency (*The Bombay Calendar and Almanac* 1859—pp. 408, 439, 443).

* P. D. (Surat), Vol. V 230 of 1858.

2. I have heard that such a proclamation has been issued in the North Western Provinces, and Bengal Presidency, but have seen nothing of the kind in Bombay.

3. As a descriptive roll of the ruffian has been supplied to all Magistrates, it might be as well that notice of the reward was also authoritatively communicated.

No. 98 of 1857. (Page 4).

With the permission of Government, the Commissioner will notify to each Magistrate that the reward believed to have been offered by the Government of India, Rs. 50,000[1] (fifty thousand Rupees) will be paid to any one in any district who fulfills the conditions.

Poonah, 16th November 1857.

Council's Resolution : (Page 6).

Resolved—

That an immediate reference be made to the Government of India, as to whether a reward of Rs. 50,000 should be offered in this Presidency for the apprehension of Nana Saheb of Bitoor.

I think the reward may be offered without a reference to the Government of India for the apprehension of this person but it should be the same as that which has been offered in other parts of India.

Dated 23rd November 1857.

No. 4 of 1859. (Pages 69-70). *

Persian Department :
5th January 1859.

A petition from KASSEENATH ANNA APTEY, residing at Poona, to the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council, dated the 28, received on the 30, and ordered to be translated on the 31st December 1858.

Nana Saheb Peishwa having raised the standard of rebellion gives unnecessary trouble to Government. Arrangements are of course being made to suppress it. The rebels create disturbances in vain, and Government feels no concern about them, but we the subjects of Government, identify its interests with our own, I therefore offer my services to Government for the sum of Rupees 50,000 to conduct negotiations with the enemy, or convey any messages to them, services which I shall perform faithfully, honestly, and without any concern for my life, As crores of Rupees are spent by Government, my proposal is by no means impracticable. Should this meet with the approval of Government, I earnestly beg the favor of a reply.

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[1] Reward of rupees one lakh is mentioned in the list prepared by Home Department, Government of India. *P.D. 1858, vol. 48,* page 274.

* P. D. Vol. No. 134A of 1859.

Resolved—

That the Petitioner be informed that the Government does not require his services.

January 12.

Official Enquiry—

Who is this man ? As he offers to *negociate* with the Nana, he may perhaps be already in communication with him, he should be watched.

January 14.

Refusal to Aptey—

No. 173 of 1859. (Page 71).

Kassinath Anna Aptey, inhabitant of Poona, is informed in reply to his communication, dated the 28th of last month, that Government does not require his services.

Bombay Castle,

17th January 1859.

Instructions to Poona—

No. 174 of 1859. (Page 73).

To

The Magistrate of Poona.

Sir,

I am directed by the R. H. G. in C. (Rt. Hon. Governor in Council) to forward to you the accompanying Maratha letter from one Kassinath Anna Aptey, residing at Poona ; together with copy of its English version, offering his services to Government to conduct negotiation with the rebels, and to request that you will state who and what the occupation of this man is.

2. The R. H. G. in C. desires me to add that, as this person offers to negociate with the Nana, he may perhaps be already in communication with him, and he should therefore be carefully watched.

3. In reply to his letter, this writer has been informed that the Government does not require his services.

Bombay Castle,

17th January 1859.

No. 528 of 1859. (Page 75).

Secret Department:
12th March 1859.

From

The Magistrate of Poona;

To

H. L. Anderson[1], Esqr., Secretary to Government, Bombay.

In reply to you letter No. 174 of 17th January last, I have the honour to report that Cassinath Anna Aptey is a young man of about 25, supported by his aunt Ambu Tai Saheb Goleh, who has an *Enam* in Surat, but resides here. He has no means or influence of his own. His father was charged with forgery about 8 years ago, but acquitted. Venaik Rao, adopted brother of the late Ex-Peishwa, married a female of the Apteh family.

Council's Resolution. (Page 78).

Resolved—

As this Kassinath Aptey appears to be distantly connected with the Ex-Peishwa's family, the Magistrate should be directed to make arrangements for closely watching his proceedings. This seems to be a police rather than a magisterial case. I think the Commissioner of Police should be informed and requested to watch this man who has probably some correspondence with the Rao Saheb, if not with Nana.

No. 435 A of 1859. (Page 79).

To

The Magistrate of Poona.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 12th instant, No. 528, relative to the case of Cassinath Anna Aptey.

2. As this person appears to be distantly connected with the Ex-Peishwa's family, and has probably some correspondence with the Rao Saheb, if not with the Nana, I am desired to request that you will make arrangements for closely watching his proceedings.

II

Col. Ramsay, British Resident in Nepal in a letter to C. Beadon, a member of the Supreme Council informed the latter that he found the Peshwa ladies in Khatmandu adopting mourning dress.

Underneath is given the pertinent extract from the letter:

Home Misc. 725 (26).

Col. G. Ramsay (Resident in Nepal) to C. Beadon[2] (Member of Council)
3rd September 1860.

The deponent states that the Nana and Bala Rao and Devr Bux etc. left Soorya Sota and marched through and beyond Nepal to a large city (an exaggeration I suspect) where they now are, and that its inhabitants are quite different from any men he has even seen before; that they do not shave their heads, but

[1] *Anderson, Henry Lacon*: Appointed in 1840 in the Secret Political and Judicial Department, in charge of the Secretariat dutie in Persian Department, 1-5-1854. *The Bombay Almanac and Book of Direction* in 1858. P. 323.

[2] Entered Service in 1829—*East India Register and Army List for 1858.* Page 24.

have long hair, and wear a thick cloth made of dog's hair; and that they have a breed of large dogs with long shaggy hair, which they cut off and weave into cloth. He also says that Therwaria is just beyond a line of low hillocks like boundary marks, and that the march to that place occupied 15 days.

There is an air of probability in all this : more so indeed it has the stamps of truth. It satisfied me that the man must have visited some largish village on the Tibetan frontier, and fallen in with the *Booteas,* (BHOTIAS) as, the Tibetans are called in these parts. A march of 15 days would have carried him fairly into Tibet; in fact, to a little beyond the Nepalese boundary which I know is, in many places, marked by small hillocks.

With regard to the death of the Nana, of Bala Rao etc. I confess I have always and strong doubts and misgiving in my own mind as to the truth of Jung Bahadur's representations. They were high caste Brahmins, and the person of a Brahmin is held so sacred here, that a Brahmin cannot be put to death, even for murder; and in talking upon this subject once with Jung Bahadur, he told me that if a Brahmin were to kill the King or even a woman, or a Brahminee bull (I ought perhaps have put the last mentioned animal *first,* for really I believe the slaughter of a bull to be considered here as greater crime than the murder of a woman) he cannot be executed for it.

Jung Bahadur knew quite well what crimes the Nana and his relatives had committed, and that, if they were handed over to us, they would have been tried for their lives, and in all probability executed; and I suspect that from the very first, he made up his mind to shield them. He told me so often in the course of last summer that *HE WAS SURE THEY WOULD DIE*; he was so positive in this respect that became a joke in our little community; we felt quite sure, weeks before the event was said to have occurred, that it would be reported; and when the report came, what a report it was ! ! Just half a dozen laconic lines !

I must not conclude this letter without mentioning one fact which I consider to be of significance. When the families of the Nana and of Bala Rao first reached this (place ?) they showed no signs of mourning; they had evidently not observed the customs which the Maharatta Brahmins are usually so particular in following. Their hair was long and they wore coloured clothes. Some weeks, however after their arrival here, but long before Bala Rao's wife died, they went through the usual ceremonies which attend mourning for a near relative. They cut off their hair, draped themselves in white and distributed alms to a large number of Fakirs who were fed, as is customary upon such occasions, with *dhye,* (Curds), *Choora,* (dry parched rice) sweetmeats, etc., etc. I got a glimpse on many occasions of several of the members of the family in their ordinary attire when they first came up here; but on the day of the late marriage of the heir apparent, when I passed their residence to take part in the procession, they were sitting at a large open window, all clad in white, and a Brahmin Havildar who is constantly with me, afterwards told me that their hair was out, and that they had then for the first time adopted the usual marks of mourning."

III

A Story of Hirji Brahmachari and Vrijadas who were suspected.

The Story:

Two persons arrived in Karachi by a coastal steamer and as their physical description some what resembled to that of the police announcement about Nanasaheb and his constant companion, suspicion of the customs clerks was

aroused. That was communicated to police officers and then the matter took serious turn. The two persons, professedly, attendants at a temple at Beyt[1] *near Dwarka*[2] *(Kathiawad), were taken into police custody; identity parades were held; photographs taken and high level secret communication was humming. During the identity parade the smartness of one witness, who could identify the supposed Nana three or four times, from among strange crowds, made the officials careful and cautious. While further enquiries about them which were ordered from Okhamandal and Baroda (in whose jurisdiction the place of residence of the suspects lay) were going on, Bombay and Calcutta were kept informed and their advice sought as to the possible course of action. When it was found that the two suspects were really natives of Jamnagar and did not know a word of Marathi the case against them had no ground. But Karachi was a centre of Maratha activity. The deposed Raja Chimasaheb of Kolhapur was interned there (P. D., 1858, Vol. 27, pp. 59-67); much of the dock labour was from Bombay districts and for the Port Trust Office, staff recruited was mainly Maratha. And was not Karachi a suitable port to get out of India? In addition, secret plans of Nana to that effect of escaping via Karachi, travelling on the Indus were made public by clever correspondents. All this was sufficient in the suspicious atmosphere to counterbalance the direct proofs of innocence, expressed by the district official of Karachi, in a well reasoned out argument.*

The suggestion of innoncence was overruled and it was decided to send the two suspects to Cawnpore for identification by the doctor who used to attend on the deposed Peshwa in his professional capacity. The question was discussed: whether the Doctor should go to Karachi or the suspects be sent to him? It was ultimately decided to send the suspects first to Bombay and thence to Calcutta as the only means of conveyance at that time was the steamer! There is mention in the correspondence about the difficulty of allowing "Native" passengers to travel by the P. & O. steamers.

In Calcutta again the same routine of identity was gone through and a clear case of innocents being mistaken for Nana and his companion was established. It was therefore decided to send back the two persons by the same route.

1

Two persons suspected to be Dhondoo Punt Nana and attendant arrested at Karachi and their photograph taken.

(Summary of letter from H. Ingle, Deputy Magistrate Incharge Hoozoor, Karachi, to I. D. Inverarity, Esquire, Commissioner in Sind, Karachi, dated 14th December 1861 (Pages 1-40 of P. D. Vol. 4 of 1862).

The two persons, suspected to be Dhondoo Punt (Nana of Bithoor) and his attendant, namely Hurjeebhoy Wullud Chedanund and Orijdass Bhugut Ramjee were arrested at Karachi on the afternoon of Friday, 29th November 1861. The two persons in question landed from a native boat, called the "Luckmeepursand" (लक्ष्मीप्रसाद) which had arrived from Beyt. When Hurjeebhoy was asked he gave two names, the first of which was a Hindoo; and the second or surname given, sounded a Mohomedan. On reference to the printed descriptive Roll of Mutineers, a note was found in the column of remarks to the effect that "a servant

[1] Beyt—The Shankhoddhar Bet near Dwarka.

[2] Town and port in the Okhamandal Taluka (22° 22′ North and 69° 5′ East).

with a cut ear never leaves his (the nana's) side ", and by a singular coincidence, the man's companion was found to have a cut in the ear. An impression was thus created that the men might possibly be Nana of Bithoor and his attendant.

2. They were interrogated. The man Hurjeebhoy represented himself as an attendant at one of the mundirs (temples) in Beyt (Dwarka), of which place he had been a resident for 12 years, and that he employed himself in copying *Gitas*. He stated his age 41. The other man, Vrijdass, stated that he had come from Beyt for the purpose of collecting donations from certain pilgrims from Kurrachee, Hyderabad and Shikarpoor, who had visited Beyt. He said that he was thirty.

3. The statements of the two men varied in the following particulars :—

(i) Hurjeebhoy stated he had known Vrijdass for only a quarter of a month while the latter said that he knew Hurjeebhoy for six years.

(ii) Hurjeebhoy stated he was under the orders of Vrijdass while Vrijdass asserted that Hurjeebhoy had come to Kurrachee on his own, and that he was not under his (Vrijdas's) order.

4. A (gold) ring was found on the person of Hurjeebhoy.

5. The men were therefore detained pending further enquiries. When their baggage was searched, it was found to contain Beads, sweetmeats, and a number of small notes apparently of a religious character soliciting money.

6. The report of the apprehension of the men suspected to be Dhondoo Punt of Bithoor and his attendant spread far and wide and every endeavour was made to discover any persons who had seen the Nana, and could testify to his identity.

7. The statements of the following persons who attempted to identify the man Hurjeebhoy with Dhondoo Punt of Bithoor were recorded :—

(1) Munohur Behara (40)—Bearer of Lt. Lerawley.

(2) Goolab Khan Buksh Khan (35) (of Maj. Dunford) who saw Nanasaheb at Bithoor.

(3) Michael Keegan, Police Constable (Ex-serviceman of Azamgarh).

The statements of the following persons who confirmed the account given by Hurjeebhoy of himself were also recorded :—

(1) Pedro De Souza (35) appraiser, Karachi Customs.

(2) Martin Murner (32) private in 101st H. M. Own Bengal Fusiliers.

(3) Pragjee Tejmanjee of the Luckmeepursad.

(4) Gopal Dhanraj, formerly resident of Beyt, now residing in Kurrachee.

(5) Gesur wd. Godoo who saw Hurjee at Beyt.

(6) Naraindass Doolachand who saw Hurjee at Beyt.

(7) Kewal Godoo who saw Hurjee at Beyt.

(8) Kuloo Godoo who saw Hurjee at Beyt.

(9) Wewchand Waljee of Beyt.

(10) Jewaram Mooljee who used to visit Beyt twice a year.

(11) Nanjee Curson.

(12) Dhurmsee Assun.

(13) Goolab Khan Buksh Khan.

(14) William Mansfield Malvery (35) Editor 'Our Paper' Karachi.

*The statement made by William Mansfield Malvery, Editor, 'Our Paper', Karachi, is reproduced below as it covers important points in the evidence.**

Statement of William Mansfield Malvery.

My name is William Mansfield Malvery; my age is 35 years. I am by religion a Christian. By occupation, Editor of *Our Paper*. I reside in Kurrachee.

By the associates I formed during the mutinies I was introduced sometime last year to a dis-possessed Zamindar of Sawant Waree, who has been with the Nana Saheb, and had left him six months before (according to the Zamindar's statement) on a mission to the Maharatta Regiments of the Deccan. He was at the same time to note if it were possible for any of the Nana's party to come down the valley of the Indus without detection.

The Nana was then in the Jungle of Upper India, having with him a few followers, some Elephants, specie, and Jewels. I made the matter known to Mr. Gibbs who told me to detain the man until his return to Kurrachee he being then on tour. The man was detained and brought before the Commissioner.

I learnt from this man that the Nana Saheb was very anxious to create an impression that he was dead, and then to make his way to Europe. On asking the man what proof he could give as to his connection with Nana Saheb, he stated that if provided with means, he would return and bring back a Sunnad signed by the Nana and sealed with Royal seal of Delhi bearing the inscription "Shah in Shah". The man further told me there were eleven of these signets in possession of eleven Christians who were in the confidence of the King of Delhi on the breaking out of the mutinies, and that communications between Christians enlisted in the service of Delhi were sent by confidential messengers concealed in the soles of shoes.

That the Nana had tanned his skin by the use of Walnut oil[1] and exposure to the sun. That he could be distinguished by a mark on his left eye, similar to a pox mark. That he was a tall powerful man and a Gymnast. That one Mogul Beg was with him when he parted from the Nana.

Hearing of Mogul Beg's apprehension at Sukkur[2] and his identification, I thought it probable that the Nana was also on his way down the Indus and therefore published the idea in "Our Paper" to put people on the scent. I have spoken to the man now in custody suspected of being the Nana Saheb and from the fluent manner in which he speaks Guzerattee together, with the "Sh" in his pronounciation, I am of opinion that he is not the Nana himself but more likely from his resemblance to him put forward to test whether the authorities have given up their vigilance.

(pp. 36-37).

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* P. D. Vol. 4 of 1862.

1 Walnut Oil : Very likely the reference here is to the strong staining quality of (raw) walnut skin.

2 Sukkur Town (27° 42′ North and 68° 54′ East) Head Quarters of Sukkur District (Sind) *Imp. Gaz.* XXIII. Page 126.

2

*The following is the account of the proceedings of the persons suspected to be Dhondo Punt of Bithoor and his attendant as summarised by the Magistrate of Karachi from the evidence produced against them.**

Pages 41-53.

Dated 27th January 1862.

To,

The Commissioner in Sind, on circuit.

In compliance with the instructions conveyed in your letter No. 40 of the 22nd inst., I have the honour to submit the proceedings in the case of the person suspected to be the Nana of Bithoor.

2. Upon information received two persons were apprehended in Kurrachee on the morning of the 30th November last, on suspicion of being the Nana of Bithoor and the servant, and brought up on the afternoon of the same day before the Deputy Magistrate Mr. Ingle[1] who took down their statements in writing. The person suspected to be the Nana but who gave the name of Heerjeebhoy Wullud Chedanund states that he was an attendant at one of the temples at Beyt, where he had resided for twelve years, the supposed servant represented himself to be one Vrijdass Bhugut Ramjee, a native of Marwar, and a resident for the last 15 years of Beyt. He stated that he had come to Kurrachee for the purpose of collecting subscriptions from certain pilgrims who had visited Beyt from different ports of Sind.

The statements of the two men differed suspiciously as to the length of their acquaintanceship and their relative positions. They were therefore remanded into custody and enquiries were instituted regarding them by Mr. Ingle, the Deputy Magistrate, during my absence in the districts. In the course of the enquiry it was ascertained that there were persons in Kurrachee who had formerly known Dhondo Punt of Bithoor and could speak to his (Dhondo Punt's) identity. These persons were Martin Murner a soldier in H. M.'s 101st Royal Fusiliers, Munohar Behara a native of Azamgarh[2] at present an inmate of the General Hospital, and Patrick Keagan a constable in the Kurrachee Police, but formerly a soldier. These two Europeans came forward to give their evidence and both stated that they recognized the Nana of Bithoor in the man before them, remarking that he had fallen off much since they saw him in Cawnpoor—Murner having been there in 1857 and Keagan in 1850. As to the testimony of the witness Munohur Behara Mr. Ingle states that he was first confronted with the supposed Nana by Mr. Sullivan, the hospital apothecary who knowing Munohur to be a *Hindoostanee* had learnt from him that he knew and could recognize the Nana on this occasion he was taken to the Foujdar's office, where Heerjeebhoy and his companion being placed in the midst of twenty-two men, Munohur on looking round immediately pointed out the former as the Nana.

Mr. Ingle however not having been present at this interview, and wishing to satisfy himself of the identification being satisfactory, took the two suspected persons together with six Hindoo clerks to the treasury the same evening and on their being placed in a line, Munohur singled out Hirjeebhoy and swore distinctly that he was the Nana Saheb of Bithoor and the Maharaj, adding

* P. D. Vol. 4 of 1862.

[1] *Ingle, William Ashby*—'Joined the service as Canal Surveyor, Kurrachee, 20th October 1856.' *History of Services.* Page 47 of Gazetted officers (1876).

[2] Headquarters of Azamgarh District, United Provinces. L. 26° 0′ L. 83° 10′.

"I can recognize him by the mark under his left eye"—he said that he had been at Cawnpoor for 3 years and had frequently seen the Nana both at Bithoor and Cawnpoor. On the other hand one Goolabkhan, who had been a butler in the service of Major Dunsford at Cawnpoor deposed that he had seen the Nana Saheb three or four times and at a distance of two or three feet and did not think that the man Hirjeebhoy was the Nana—he did not know of any marks on Nana Saheb's face, and ten persons, among them the Tindal of the boat which conveyed the suspected persons to Kurrachee, came forward and testified that they had known Hirjeebhoy for several years at Beyt. Subsequently the suspected persons were photographed and their likenesses were sent, one to the Magistrate of Cawnpoor and another to Major Johnstone[1], the Political Agent at Okamundul, together with the deposition of the men and impressions of a seal which had been found in Hirjeebhoy's possession.

Maj. Johnstone's reply was received on the 17th December last. He stated that two out of the three persons named by Hirjeebhoy as being able to speak to his identity, declared that they knew nothing of either Hirjeebhoy or Vrijdass and did not recognize in the photographs the likeness of any persons with whom they were acquainted. The third person named was absent and therefore could not be questioned. Maj. Johnstone mentioned that with the view to make as complete an enquiry as possible, he had further questioned Raghodass the Kharbaree (Karbhari) of Wukut Ramjee the priest of the Lukshmajee temple who stated that a Shewuk (Sevak) or servant of the same temple "by name Brijdass not Vrijdass" had been sent to Kurrachee to collect sums subscribed by pilgrims and others and another individual named Hirjeebhoy accompanied Brijdass, and that the account given of themselves before Mr. Ingle by the suspected persons tallied exactly with Raghodass's description.

Major Johnstone mentioned however that he had discovered a note that had been received by Wukkut Ramjee regarding the capture of the suspected persons which had been despatched from Kurrachee the same day as Mr. Ingle's official letter to his (Major Johnstone's) address. Maj. Johnstone in a private note to Mr. Ingle advised the persons being kept in close confinement pending receipt of a reply from the Magistrate of Cawnpoor. Shortly after this, i.e. in the early part of this month, Mr. Ingle had by your directions, he informs me, other and better photographs of the suspected persons taken, and one of these be despatched on the 13th instant to Maj. Johnstone, with a letter requesting that he would be good enough to institute further enquiries. To this letter no reply has as yet been received. On the 15th however I received a report from Mr. Ingle forwarding a letter from the Magistrate of Cawnpoor to his address which had just reached him. The Magistrate Mr. Lance[2] acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Ingle's letter of the 7th December together with the photographs of the two persons arrested here, and the impressions of a seal found on one of them he went on to say "the features of the stout person with a Mharatta turban" are perfectly familiar to Dr. Tressider[3] late Civil Surgeon of Cawnpoor and he says that they strongly resemble those of Nana Dhond Punt. Dr. Tressider was in the habit of professionally attending the Nana, and will be able to recognise him.

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[1] *Johstone Robert M.* : Joined service in 1840. Resumed as Assistant Resident, Baroda on 4th November 1859. *The Bombay Almanac 1862. The Bombay list* page 277.

[2] Lance, George Edwin—Magistrate and Collector of Cawnpore—*The Bombay Almanac—Bengal Civil Service.* Page 10. (Directory 1862).

[3] *Tressider* joined 1st March 1845 as Civil Surgeon, Cawnpore. *East India Register and Army list* for 1857 (2nd Ed. Page 213).

I therefore request that he be forwarded to Cawnpoor under a suitable escort. No one here recognizes the features of the other person, " I must mention that in my opinion the first photograph gave one a very imperfect idea of the person suspected to be the Nana. As a picture it was very inferior and the likeness to the original was barely traceable. Moreover the person was taken in a *Purbhoo's* turban and *angrika* which for some unexplained reasons, the *Foujdar* had borrowed from the Town for the purpose; being convinced therefore that Dr. Tressider, had not been afforded sufficient means of judging of the likeness of the person now in confinement here, I hesitated at once to comply with the Magistrate's request, and knowing from personal inspection that the likeness last taken by a professional artist of this place was admirable in every way, I determined in detaining the persons in question here, forwarding one of the second batch of the photographs to the Magistrate with a letter explaining my reasons for acting thus. I accordingly on the 15th inst. wrote to Mr. Lance and reported to you the same day what I had done.

3. Perhaps it will not be out of place before expressing my opinion on the evidence recorded by Mr. Ingle, and the circumstances attending the prisoners arrest and detention, to explain the grounds for the prevalent rumour that the Nana was about to visit Kurrachee as that widespread belief alone I imagine led to the capture of the persons calling themselves Hirjeebhoy and Vrijdass residents of Beyt. The report that the Nana Saheb was on his way down the River was published regularly I believe in every issue of a newspaper of this place called "*Our Paper*" the Editor of this journal Mr. Malvery thus explains the nature of his information. During the Mutinies he came across a dispossessed Zamindar of Sawantwaree who stated that he had but recently left the Nana Saheb who was wandering about the jungles in upper India but wanted to ascertain if the passage down the Indus was safe; the man described the Nana as having tanned his skin by the use of walnut oil and exposure to the sun, and stated that a man of the name of Mogul Beg was with him when he (the Zamindar) left the Nana—Mr. Malvery hearing that Mogul Beg had been captured at Sukkur, concluded that the Nana was somewhere about. After the matter had been referred to several times in the paper, a boat arrived with the two suspected persons on board. On their passing through the Custom House, the idea struck a Mr. D'souza an Appraiser that there was something remarkable about them, who examined the printed descriptive Roll of Mutineers and finding his suspicions confirmed, gave notice to the *Foujdar*—the persons in question in the mean time being allowed to pass through. The next morning, the man Heerjeebhoy was captured in the Market buying vegetables. Heerjeebhoy presents the appearance of rather a well made powerful man—he has a good deal of hair on his breast; his height is 5 feet 8 inches and his age between 30 and 40. The man Vrijdass has a peculiar mark in the ear which he himself describes as the effect of small-pox but which looks more as if it resulted from wearing a very heavy ear-ring.

4. Referring to the men now in custody, I cannot bring myself to believe that they are the persons they are suspected to be. In the first place, I cannot understand what object they could in such a case possibly have, in leaving a secure place of refuge like Beyt, and coming to Kurrachee at all, or admitting the advisability of a visit here, why they should come through a frequented place like the Custom House at a time when the rumours afloat were quite sufficient to put them on their guard. They might have reached the Town in numberless

other ways without attracting the least suspicion. The examination they were put through in the Custom House had been quite sufficient to put them on their guard. Had there existed any ground for apprehension on their part, the Nana must have formed too correct an idea of what his treatment would be when captured, to allow himself to be taken alive thus easily on the evidence of the persons who testify to having known both for years at Beyt. I place no weight as I have not a doubt that were the Nana in difficulties any number of witnesses would come forward to screen him.

The appearance of the man does not give at all the idea of " the Nana and his servant" beyond the one or two peculiarities which tend to identify them. It is true that two of the three persons residing at Beyt named by Hirjeebhoy denied all knowledge of him and, further, that Hirjeebhoy and Vrijdass statements before the Deputy Magistrate were contradictory, the first circumstance however may be accounted for by the dread which these persons would naturally have of being mixed up in the matter, and the second is only what might be expected from two natives taken suddenly as these men were. In the present state of the evidence against the two men which in my opinion is far from conclusive, I cannot think it advisable to send them at once to Cawnpoor, and even in the event of Dr. Tressider's tracing a resemblance in the picture last sent, I should be inclined rather to suggest that Dr. Tressider be summoned here to establish the identity beyond a doubt, especially as in sending the men a large European guard would be necessary.

3

*Commissioner in Sind submits a report received from the Magistrate of Karachi to the H. H. Governor in Council, Bombay, with copies of two photographs of the suspected persons. He suggests that Dr. Tressider whose opinion would be decisive be allowed to visit the prisoners at Bombay or Karachi.**

Page 39.

To

His Excellency the Honourable Sir George R. Clerk[1], K. C. B. and R. S. I.

Governor and Resident in Council, Bombay.

Dated 31st January 1862.

Hon'ble Sir,

I have the honour to submit a report from the Magistrate of Kurrachee, No. 58, dated 27th instant, detailing the case of the persons who were arrested by the Police of that place on 30th November last, under suspicion of being Dhondo Punt, Nana of Bithoor, and his attendant.

2. Copies of the depositions taken by the Deputy Magistrate, Mr. Ingle, have already been submitted to your Excellency, and I now further submit copy of the letter received from the Magistrate of Cawnpoor on the subject of the first prisoner's resemblance to the Nana.

* P. Dept. Vol. 4 of 1862.

1 Took his seat on 11th May 1860 as Governor and President in Council. *Bombay Almanac and Directory*, 1862, II, p. 199.

3. Enclosed is an excellent photographic likeness of the two individuals, and to place beyond a doubt the identity or non-identity with the Nana and his attendant of the suspected individuals now imprisoned, I would propose that Dr. Tressider named by the Magistrate of Cawnpoor, be permitted to proceed to Bombay to Kurrachee at the public expense, for the purpose of giving his evidence, which would be conclusive.

4

Governor of Bombay thought it better to refer the case to Government of India for final decision in the matter. It was suggested that the identity could be established with the help of some persons from Poona who had known and seen Nana for a long time. Another procedure proposed was to send the suspects to Cawnpore for identification by persons who knew Nana well.

No. 23 of 1862. (Pages 79-85).

To,

The Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department.

Sir,

I am desired by H. E. the Govr. in C. to forward for submission to the Govt. of India copies of colum correspondence regarding the arrest at Kurrachee of two persons suspected to be Dhondo Punt of Bhitoor and an attendant.

The first collection comprises a report from the Dy. Magt. of Kurrachee, to the address of the Commr. in Sind which was forwarded by Mr. Inverarity to the Hon'ble the Governor with a Demi Official note. The Govt. of India will perceive from Mr. Ingle's report the circumstances under which arrest was made. The best evidence procurable in Kurrachee was taken and it certainly preponderated in favour of the identity of the suspected persons with the Nana and his follower.

The Second collection consists of a letter from the Commr. in Sind dated the 31st January with which he submitted the further proceedings of the Magtr. of Kurrachee in the case. Mr. Runball the Magistrate after reviewing the whole evidence, records his opinion, that the two persons in his custody are not the Nana and his follower. The Commr. in Sind however proposed that Dr. Tressider should be permitted to proceed to Sind for the purpose of giving his evidence as to their identity.

His Excellency the Governor desired that the Photographs which were submitted with the Deputy Magistrate's report of the 14th Decr. should be shown to any persons in Poona who were known to be personally acquainted with the Nana. Accordingly Mr. Loughnan[1] the judge of Poona and agent for Sardars in the Deccan obtained the likenesses of several men well known in Poona, among which he placed that of the supposed Nana, and showed them to a native gentleman residing in Poona who was believed to be able to identify Dhondo Punt the Nana. He took up two or three which he immediately recognised when he look up the photograph received from Kurrachee he set it down quickly after a glance at it and on being told to look at it carefully, his manner changed and Mr. Loughnan was impressed that he had recognised it but when pressed to mention who it was he hesitated and at last declared positively that he did not know.

[1] Loughnan, Thomas Charles, Judge and Session Judge, from 3rd June, 1859. *Bombay Almanac*, page 202.

The suspicious resemblance between this photograph and Dhondo Punt of Bhitoor, has been recognised also by more than one individual in the North West Provinces to whom His Excellency the Governor caused it to be shown—and under these circumstances it was deemed inadvisable to pass any final orders on this case until the proceedings had been reported to the Govt. of India.

I am therefore desired to request that this Govt. may be favoured with the instructions of the R. H. G. G. in C. if the prisoners now in custody at Kurrachee should be sent round to Cawnpore in order that their identification may be satisfactorily determined. H. E. the Gov. in C. remarks with reference to Mr. Inverarity's proposal that Dr. Tressider should come to Kurrachee, that his testimony there would be that of a single person only whereas at Cawnpore there must be many who could at once identify the man Heerjibhoy if he is really the Nana of Bhitoor.

Dapooree, 11th March 1862.

5

As stated already that when Hirjeebhoy was interrogated he confessed that he belonged to Beyt. He also named the people living at Beyt who knew him for number of years. A list of these names, the copies of the statements of these two and copies of the photographs of the two suspects were sent to the Resident, Okhamandal with a request to institute an inquiry and confirm their statements by the evidences of the residents at Beyt. Capt. W. Rice Assistant Resident, Okhamandal took the depositions of the persons mentioned in the list. The position and arguments of the local people led to believe him that Hirjee and Vrijdas have truly stated themselves to be residents of Beyt. He forwarded his report to the Magistrate of Karachi which is given below :—

No. 22 of 1862. (Pages 119-123A)

From

Capt. W. Rice, Assistant Resident, Okhamundul ;

To

The Magistrate at Kurrachee.

15th March 1862, "Aramra" near Beyt.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 137 of 1862 and in reply beg to state that I at once proceeded to Beyt and took the depositions of the several persons mentioned in your letter as known to the prisoners Hirjeebhoy Brahmchary and Vrijdass—son of Newalram. The examination of each witness was a private one and they had no opportunity of communicating with each other. On arriving at Beyt, I told the "*Thannadar*" that I enquired the residence of certain individuals on a particular subject. He at once sent for them and I proceeded to take down their answers. A *Guzerattee* interpreter accompanied me but all the witnesses spoke Hindustani. The several men required, could not be produced at once. It was impossible to follow the exact order of the list of witnesses you furnished me. The morning I arrived at Beyet was the commencement of the *Hoolee* (Holi) festivals, so

L-C H 3193—6

some men being engaged in the temple, could not be examined and a few others were absent. I had previously received a petition from certain inhabitants of Beyt wishing to know why their fellow citizens Hirjee and Brijdass were detained at Kurrachee. My predecessor Major. K. Johnstone could not possibly have replied to Mr. Ingle's letter No. 1 of 1862 for he received it while absent from *Okhamundul* on duty at Korinar[1], I received this letter and the photograph from him with the office records.

First Witness (No. 1) *Hukdharee* Wukht Ram of *Luchmijee's* temple is almost blind from age, so cannot recognize the likeness.

Second Witness (No. 5) Govindass Samadhanee recognises the big figure as "Hurry *Brumcharee* a *Fuqueer*—and the smaller one as a man of the temple named Vrijdass—Hurry is about 40 years old. Witness has known him for the last 10 to 12 years. But does not know from whence he came—Hurry is a *Purdasee* and is a writer, he also gives medicine to sick people. He left Beyt about 3 months ago saying he would go to Kurrachee to beg as he did not get enough to live on, in Beyt. He slightly stutters. He wore a gold-ring on his finger with an inscription on it but I do not know what it was."

Third Witness (No. 11 of Vrijdass's list)—Thakoor Nanjee Krishna would recognise the little figure as Vrijdass—Thakoor Nanjee states that he is a servant of the Luckimeejee temple and that Vrijdass who came from Kamballia about 10 or 12 years ago also officiates in the temple—but he has not seen Vrijdass for the last six months since he was with him at Kurrachee "I also recognise the big figure but do not know his name I have seen him for the last 12 years—people called him *Brimcharee,* (*Brahmachari*) he wrote the *shastras.* I have not seen him since he was at Kurrachee he was also there. He stutters slightly in the talk—Vrijdass usually wore a golden necklace, but nothing else to my knowledge—The two men in the picture both left for Kurrachee in the same ship—it is named "*Aganee*" Vrijdass went to collect money due for the temple from Hindoos at Kurrachee he is about 30 years old I do not know why the other man went."

Fourth Witness (No. 11 of Hurjeebhoy's list), Jairam Anundoo Bhatia an owner of 4 or 5 ships, recognises the big figure as Hurjee *Brimcharee* and the little one as Vrijdass of Luchmijee's temple "Hurjee is about 35 years old—I have known him for the last 12 years since he came from Jamnuggur to Beyt. He writes *Balbodh* (The Devnagari Script) and understands *hakim's* work, he slightly stutters. I have not seen Hurjee for about 3 months I do not know where he has gone but heard while at Mandavie that he had gone to Kurrachee—He usually wore a necklace of alternate golden and coral beads—The smaller man is a servant of the temple Luchmijee, he generally stops about 2 months in the temple and then goes to collect money from people at Bombay, Kurrachee or wherever he is sent by his master Wukht Ram Hudkharee of the Luchmee mundir. Vrijdass is under 40 years of age. I do not know if he wears any ornament. I do not know why Hurjee went to Kurrachee. I was at Mandavie at the time."

Fifth Witness (No. 14 of Hurjee's list), Sett Ludha Pophurris, a grain seller—"I recognise the larger man as *Brimacharee* but not the smaller one. I have known *Brimcharee* (Brahmachari) since 10 or 12 years when he first came to Beyt. He writes and doctor's people and begs he is about 35 years old,

[1] Taluka in former Baroda State territory in Kathiawad.

I do not know if he wears any ornaments, he wears clothes as depicted in the drawing. I have not seen him for the last 3 or 4 months—I occasionally sold grain to him for food—I do not know where he has gone or why."

Sixth Witness (No. 17 of Hurjee's List)—Leiloo Wallad Keemance—"I am a blacksmith; my name is Leiloo *wd.* Keemanee, (not *wd.* Jeemanee). I recognise the large figure as Hureeman *Brimcharee,* (Brahmachari) I have known him for the last 15 years since he came from Jamnuggur to live at Beyt. He is about 40 years of age, he writes and gives people medicine. He stutters very slightly in his speech—I am a friend of his. I have not seen him for the last six months since he said he was going to Kurrachee to get something from the people there, I do not know any thing more about him."

Seventh Witness (No. 4 of Hurjee's list) *Hudkharee* Jankidas Janoo Mutee's mundir. "I recognize the large figure as *Brimacharee* (Brahmachari) and the smaller as a man who officiate in the temple but I do not know his name—*Brimacharee* is about 35 years old. I have known him for the last 8 years. He is a *Purdassee* but I do not know where he came from—He writes and begs for his living. I have not seen him, for about six or 7 months; I do not know where he has gone. He usually wears clothes as depicted in the drawing (photo)—I do not know if he wore any ornaments."

Eighth Witness (No. 2 of Hurjee's list)—Vrijdass Hudkharee of Sett Ramjee's *Mundir.* (Bal Mukund) "I recognize the big figure as Hurjee Bhaiee Brumcharee (Brahmachari) and the smaller one as Vrijdass, a servant of the Luxmee temple Hurjee Bhaiee is about 35 years old—He writes and acts as a "hakim". He lives in my mundir—I have known him for about 10 or 12 years since he came here—I do not know where he came from before that. He dresses as shown in the picture (photo). I have not seen him for the last 3½ or 4 months. He stutters—I do not know where he has gone but people say he left for Kurrachee. I never saw him wear any ornaments Vrijdass is about 28 years old—I have known him for about 5 or 7 years since he came to Beyt. He generally travels about on business of the temple to beg money—Both his ears are torn, but how I do not know. I have not seen him for about 3½ or 4 months. He left for Kurrachee to collect money for the temple. I do not know the ship's name—he generally wore clothes as depicted he also formerly wore a golden necklace."

Ninth witness (No. 8 of Vrijdass's list)—Shawach (Sevak ?) Ragoodassjee—"I recognise the large figure as Hurjee Brimacharee and the other as Vrijdass, my servant of my temple *Luchmee* Hurjee is about 35 years old. I have known him for about 10 or 12 years since he lived here. I do not know where he came from, but have heard that he belonged to Jamnuggur. He writes and does doctor's business—He dresses usually as shown in the picture. I do not know if he wore ornament. He slightly stutters, in his speech, I have not seen him for 3½ months. He left this for Kurrachee but I don't know why. Vrijdass is about 28 or 30 years old, he dresses as shown in the drawing (photo). He wears a golden necklace, both his ears are doubled under-not torn. His business is to collect the promised payments from pilgrims to the Beyt Mundir. About 14 years ago he left for Poorbunder on this business, then about 10 or 12 years ago, he had gone to Kumbalia. He returned here and now has gone to Kurrachee about 3½ months ago in this very business in the ship, *Luximee Pursaud* (Prasad) "*Agane*".

Tenth Witness (No 7 of Vrijdass's list)—*Hudkharee* Rugoadassjee recognises both the figures the larger one as Hurjee *Brimcharee* and the smaller as Vrijdass. Hurjee is about 40 years old. I have known him about 12 or 14 years since he lived here. I do not know where he came from originally. He writes and does doctor's work. He dresses usually as shown in the drawing, (photo) but wears no ornament except a necklace of beads. I have not seen him for about 3½ months. He left with Vrijdass for Kurrachee on a begging expedition in the "*Aganee*" ship. Vrijdass is about 32 years old — He has been sent by Wukht Ram to collect money from Hindoos at Kurrachee due to the Mundir Luchmijee — He dresses as shown in the picture and wears a golden necklace of the value of about rupees 125 — Both his ears are doubled down, not torn, but both ears are pierced for earrings. I have known him for about 12 or 14 years. He is my servant in the temple. He came from near Jodhpur in Marwar.

Eleventh Witness (No. 12 of Hurjee's list)—Sett Kishundas Luddha—a cloth seller — "I recognise the big figure as *Brimcharee* a resident of Meerabhaiee (Mirabai) Mundir — He is a writer and a doctor — aged about 35 years I have known him about 10 years since he came to Beyt. I do not know where he came from. He dresses as shown in the picture, but I do not know if he wears any ornaments or if has any mark on his body. He stutters slightly in his talk. I have not seen him for about 3½ months. I have lately been to Mandavie but did not see him. He was about to proceed to Kurrachee. He gets his living by writing *Shastra* and doctoring people I know nothing of Vrijdass."

Twelfth Witness (No 18 of Hurjee's list)—Canjee Jeewanee a Dursee (Durji, tailor ?) recognises the large figure as *Brimcharee*. "He is about 35 years old. I have know him about 10 or 12 years since he came to Beyt from Jamnuggur. He is a writer and gives medicine to people. He dresses as shown in the picture. I do not know if he has any marks or scars on his body. He has an impediment in his speech. I have not seen him for about 4 or 5 months. He said he was going to Kurrachee but why I do not know. I have sewn clothes occasionally for Hurjee—I do not know the other figure at all."

Thirteenth Witness (No. 8 of Hurjee's list) Josee Dosa Galole, a Brahmin of the temple—recognises the right figure as *Brimacharee* Hurjee and the left he has seen as a servant "shewuk" (Sevak-Servant) of the Luchmijee Mundir, but does not know his name. Hurjee is about 40 years old or less. I have known him about 10 or 12 years since he came here from Jamnuggur. He writes *Shastras* in *Balboodh* for the Mundir, he also gives medicine to the sick. He dresses as shown in the picture, but I have never seen him wear any ornaments. I do not know of any particular distinguishing marks on his body; I have not seen him for about 3½ or 4 months. He left for Kurrachee with the "Shewuk" above mentioned in the *Luchmee Pursau*d ship but I do not know why he went. He lives by begging, writing and doctoring.

Fourteenth Witness (No. 5 of Hurjee's list)—*Jannee* Nuttoo *wd.* Ludha recognises the large man as *Brimacharee* Hurree and smaller one as Vrijdass and thinks the picture exceedingly like them both Jannee Nuttoo says he is a servant "shewuk" of the Dwarkanath mundir. "Hurjee is about 36 or 37 years old. I have known him for about 8 or 9 years. He came at first from Jamnuggur. He lives by writing and doing hakim's work. He stutters a very little. I have not seen him for about 5 or 6 months since he left for Kurrachee

to get some money. I do not know the name of the ship he left in. I do not know of any marks on his body. His chest is very hairy. He dresses as shown in the drawing but wears no ornaments that I have observed except a necklace of beads. Vrijdass is about 32 or 33 years old. He is a "shewuk" of the Luchmee mundir. I have known him for about 5 or 6 years. I do not know of any marks on his body. I do not know him so well as Hurjee, because he does not live so constantly in Beyt. He left for Kurrachee with Hurjee in the same ship (name unknown). I believe he went about the mundir's business. I do not know if he wore any ornaments. He was usually dressed as shown in the picture.

Fifteenth Witness (No. 10 of Hurjee's list) Wahira Nanjee, Brahmin, a religious begger of Beyt "I recognise the big figure as *Brimcharee,* but do not know the other. Hurjee Brimcharee is less than 40 years old. I have known him about 10 or 12 years since he came here from Jamnuggur. He is a doctor ("hakim") and writer of the *Shastras* and *Balbhundee.* He gets his living by this means. I know of no scars or marks on his body. His skin is rather red and his chest is very hairy. He dresses as shown in the picture and wears a golden-ring with a blue stone or jewel in it on his little finger, (but on which hand unknown). I have not seen him for about 4 months. He has gone to Kurrachee to collect some money. He sailed in the "Aganee", vessel from this port. I know nothing more of him."

Sixteenth Witness (No. 16 of Hurjee's list) Dossa, goldsmith "I recognise the big figure as *Brimacharee* but do not know other. Brimcharee lives in the Meerabhaiee mundir—He is a writer there and doctor's people besides. He is about 36 or 40 years old. I have known him for about 10 years. He says he came from Jamnuggur. I have heard he has gone to Kurrachee about 4 or 4½ months ago. I never worked for him and do not know if he wears any ornaments. He dresses according to the picture which seems very like him. I do not know of any distinguishing marks on his body by which to recognise him."

Seventeenth Witness—(not of the lists)—Wukeel of Jalim Sing of "*Aramra*" *Rawah Shemkah Chewulldass* an inhabitant of Jamnuggur recognise the big figure as *Hurjee* Brimcharee has known him since he left Jamnuggur and while at Jamnuggur. He stutters. He was a writer of *Shastras* and reader of prayers. He is under 40 years of age. "I also recognise the smaller figure as Vrijdass but know little of him having only occasionally seen him."

(No. 1 of Vrijdass list) Bhundaree "Hurry Numgulgee, resident of Radhajee's mundir, was engaged in the temple and could not attend to give evidence.

No. 2 *Hudkaree Brijadass* of Sett Bamajee's mundir is the same person as "Buggut or Wukht Ram" whose evidence is recorded above.

No. 4 *Poojaree* Cheytundassjee has gone to Marwar.

No. 6 Brahmicharry Deveechrisnijee is also engaged in the temple celebrating the *Hoolee* festival and cannot attend to evidence.

No. 9 Vyass Jaykissun Jairam has gone to Marwar.

No. 10 Thakoor Hurry has gone to Marwar.

No. 7 Jaykissun Jairam Vyass—has gone to Purtabghur.

No. 9 Purohith Kala Kanjee died two months ago.

No. 13 Thukar *Shawa* Mawanee, a cloth merchant has gone to Bombay.

No. 15 Sheeva, a goldsmith has gone to Bhooj.

Nos. 19 and 20 Moorarjee *wullud* Cala *Bhut* and *Segore* Brahmin had both gone to a feast a long way off, so could not attend.

Should it be considered necessary I could proceed to Jamnuggur—Mandavie or the Goomtee to take the evidence of other witnesses—but from the above statements and the ready manner in which the likenesses of the two prisoners were almost invariably recognised by each witness, I have not slightest doubt that both Hurree and Vrijdass have truely stated themselves to be residents of Beyt.

6

Commissioner in Sind also received a report from the Magistrate of Cawnpur who said that the photographs did not prove satisfactory. He forwarded the report received by him from Okhamandal to Governor in Council, Bombay observing that the suspects seem to be innocent persons and that they be set free.

No. 39 of 1862. (Pages 114-115).

Dated 24th March 1862.

Hon'ble Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 7 of the 31st January last, I have the honour to report that on the 6th February the Magistrate of Cawnpoor informed the Magistrate of Kurrachee that Dr. Tressider did not see the same strong resemblance to the Nana in the second as he did in the first photograph forwarded for his inspection. He has said "Had I seen this photograph first, I do not think I would have said there was much resemblance." The Magistrate of Cawnpoor added "I think that a Photograph is a most imperfect test for recognition, and if there are many suspicious circumstances attached to this person, he ought to be sent here. This depends upon his own account of himself, which is of course capable of proof on the spot, and you will be the best judge."

On the 19th instant Mr. Kemball[1] further reported the result of his reference to the Assistant Resident at Okamundel to whom he had transmitted full accounts of themselves from the two suspected persons, for the purpose of verification or otherwise. The correspondence is submitted for the information of your Excellency in Council I quite concur with the Magistrate of Kurrachee in opinion that Captain Rice's reply removes all doubt as to the identity of the prisoners, and I would support his recommendation that they be set at liberty. They have been now in confinement for nearly four months.

[1] *Kembal, Charles Gurdon* : joined in 1850. Acting Collector and Magistrate, Karachi, since confirmed, 31st Oct. 1861. *The Bombay Almanac and Directory for 1862*, B. C. list p. 212.

7

Government of India orders despatch of the two suspects to Cawnpore for identification.

No. 301. (Page 103).

From

Colonel H. M. Durand[1], C. B., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India;

To

The Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Foreign Department, Political,

Fort William, the 27th March 1862.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 23, dated 11th instant, forwarding copies of certain correspondence regarding the arrest, at Kurrachee, of two persons suspected to be Dhondo Punt of Bithoor and an attendant, I am directed by the Governor General in Council to request that the prisoners may be sent under safe custody to Cawnpore for identification.

8

Government of Bombay thought it prudent to keep the district authorities in the province informed of the case to ensure that if the suspects escaped from the custody while carrying them to Bombay from Karachi they would be detected by them (District authorities). Accordingly J. B. Peile[2], Acting Under Secretary to Government of Bombay circulated a descriptive Roll of Nana, his family and principal adherents to the District authorities and the Police for information. (No. 128 of 1862, dated 28th March 1862—Pages 88-90).

9

Bombay Government asked the Commissioner in Sind to send the persons to Bombay under safe custody under intimation to them (10 April 1862, P. 107), and the warrant was issued to the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to receive the said persons into his custody (19th April 1862—Page 110).

The prisoners were despatched from Karachi for Bombay in "Johnstone castle" on the 18th April 1862. (19th April—Page 111).

Deputy Commissioner of Police, Bombay, informed the Government that the prisoners who arrived in Bombay on 21st April were taken by him under his charge (letter, dated 21st April 1862, No. 206 of 1862—Page 112).

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[1] *Durand, Sir Henry Marion* (1812-1871) son of a Cavalry Officer : born Nov. 6, 1812, came to India in 1829-30 : appointed to irrigation work in the N. W. P. Foreign Secretary to Govt. of India 1861-65 ; accidently killed at Tonk on Jan. 1, 1871. *DIB.* p. 127.

[2] *Peile, J. B ;* born April 27, 1833 son of Rev. T. W. Peile ; came to Bombay in the Civil Service 1856 ; Member of Council, Bombay. *DIB.* p. 332.

Government resolved to send the prisoners to Calcutta by any steamer belonging to the P. & O. Company or Burmah S. N. C. as may be found practicable but the Deputy Secretary noted his fear whether P. & O. Company would refuse to take a native prisoner (dated 22nd April 1862—Page 112).

10

Governor of Bombay gave a serious thought to the recommendations of Commissioner in Sind and the Magistrate at Karachi for the release of the suspects [see letter 24th March 1862 (5)]. But the Government did not agree with these affairs. The Governor informed the Government of India about their preparation to send the prisoners to Calcutta in the following letter.

No. 49 of 1862. (Pages 125-126).

Secret Department.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India in the foreign Department.

Fort William.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 23 of the 11th ultimo I am directed to forward for the information of the Government of India copy of a letter from Mr. S. Mansfield, the Commissioner in Sind, enclosing correspondence received by him from the Magistrate at Kurrachee, and recommending for reasons therein stated, the release of the persons supposed to be Dhondoo-Punt of Bithoor and an attendant.

2. His Excellency the Governor in Council is unable to agree with either Mr. Mansfield, the Magistrate at Kurrachee, or the Resident in charge of Okhamundel, in the opinions expressed by them upon the further evidences now submitted. It is beyond doubt that a communication* was made to a resident at Beyt.

3. Under these circumstances I am desired to state the Prisoners will be forwarded to Cownpore for identification as directed in your letter No. 301, dated the 27th ultimo. Arrangements are now in progress for sending them *via* Calcutta by sailing vessel or steamer as may be practicable.

Bombay Castle, 26th April.

11

Government of Bombay despatched prisoners to Calcutta, by the P. & O. Company's steam-ship "Salsette" on 29th April 1862. (Page 130 of Vol. 4 of 1862).

They informed the Government of India the opinion of Mr. J. B. Peile, Under Secretary to Bombay Government, who visited the prisoners while in Bombay that the supposed Nana's mother-tongue was Gujarati and that this could be verified if the prisoners were returned to Bombay.

* Para. 2 of the letter from the magre. of Kurrachee No. 58, dt. the 27th Jan. last forming enclosure to 1. Despatch No. 23 of 1862 above quoted.

No. 55 of 1862. (Page 131).

Secret Department.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India in the foreign Department.

(Calcutta).

Fort William.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 49, dated the 26th ultimo I am directed to report that the persons supposed to be Dhondoo Punt of Bithoor and an attendant, were placed on board the P. & O. Company's steamer "*Salsette*" on the 29th idem, for conveyance to Calcutta, as intimated to you in my telegram of the same day.

In reporting their departure, I am desired to state that the prisoners were visited while in Bombay by Mr. R. B. Peile, Under Secretary to this Government, a gentleman thoroughly conversant with the Guzerattee language, and that Mr. Peile is of opinion that the fluency and accuracy with which the supposed Nana spoke *Guzerattee*, made it very probable that Guzerattee was his vernacular language, or that by long residence in Guzerat and habitual usage of that language, he had acquired great proficiency. The prisoner proposed ignorance of Mahratta the mother-tongue of Dhondoo Punt of Bithoor.

If therefore he be not Dhondoo Punt, he may, I am instructed to state, be a *Guzeratee* and so implicated with the wagheers at Beyt and Dwarka, that he is afraid to give a proper account of himself. In that case H. E. in C. is of opinion that it will be advisable to return him to Bombay, in order that his former proceedings in Guzerat may be traced out.

Bombay Castle,
8th May 1862.

12

Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, received the prisoners in his custody on 15th of May 1862 (letter, dated 15th May 1862, P. 136). He then took the depositions of certain residents in Calcutta who could identify Nana (17th May 1862). Government of Bengal who received the depositions forwarded them to the Government of India.

(Page 135.)

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department.

Dated Fort William the 21st May 1862.

With reference to your letter No. 415, dated 30th ultimo I am directed to forward for the orders of His Excellency the Governor General in Council, the accompanying copies of two letters, noted below* with enclosures from the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.

* From Commissr. of Police No. 462, dt. 15th May 1862.
From Commissr. of Police No. 477, dt. 17th May 1862.

2. The former, it will be seen, announces the safe arrival in Culcutta of the Prisoner from Bombay alluded to in your letter under reply. The latter submits the depositions of certain witnesses as to the identity of the said Prisoner.

3. Adverting to these depositions, the Lieutenant Governor would suggest that the individual now in Mr. Wauchope's custody be at once released, if the sole ground for his detention in confinement be the supposition that he is Dhondoo Punt of Bithoor.

I have etc.,

J. D. GORDAN,[1]

Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Depositions taken in Calcutta.

(Page 136).

Harmusjee Bezanjee Mody,

My name is Hurmusjee Bezanjee Mody. I reside at present at Sibtallah Lane No. 26, I was for long employed under the Nana. From 7th July 1852, till December 1855, I went twice to England for him: I have to know him intimately. *The persons shown to me is not the Nana, he is not in the least like him.*

May 17th 1862.

(Signed) H. BEZANJEE MODY.

Phillip Aleantra,

I was a handsman in the late 36th Regiment of Volunteers for 16 years and was stationed at Cawnpore for nearly 3 years, till 1856, I have frequently been to the Nana Saheb's house at Bithoor to play with the Band on the occasions of Balls and parties, I think I should know the Nana by sight. He was a stout man, dark complexion, long beard; he used to wear a ring in his ear. His caste was Maharatta; he had a mark under the left eye.

I have seen the man in the lock-up. I do not think he is the Nana—the Nana was a darker complexioned man, about the same size and make. This man has none of the gentlemanly bearing of the Nana.

17th May 1862.

(Signed) P. ALEANTRA.

Lala Issery Persad,

I reside at Juggernath Ghat at present but I live at Cawnpore. I have often seen the Nana Saheb in Cawnpore.

I have seen the man in the Police Lock-up and in my opinion he is not the Nana.

[1] Gordan, James Davidson—*The Bombay Almanac and Directory for 1862, Bengal Civil Service p. 8.*

The Nana had a somewhat darker complexion. His eyes were fuller and better, without the slightest obliquity. The Nana was about his height, but stouter in body. To my eyes, there is not the slightest resemblance to the Nana.

17th May 1862.

(Signed) ISSREE PERSHAD.

[1]*Major R. C. Wroughton,*
Deputy Commissary General.

I was at Cawnpore from 1850 till August 1856. I have frequently seen the Nana. I was constantly a guest at his Bithoor house, and visited him and his family frequently in his palaces. *The person shown to me is not the Nana, nor is he in the least like him.* His mode of conversation and tone are not in the least similar.

Calcutta,
May 1862.

(Signed) R. C. WROUGHTON, Major,
Deputy Commissary General,
J. C.

13

Government of India declares that the arrested person is not Nana.

(Pages 137-8).

No. 506.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India.

To

The Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Dated, *Fort William the 27th May 1862.*

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 581, dated 21st instant, and its enclosures, reporting the arrival at Calcutta of the supposed Nana and forwarding four depositions as to his identity, I am directed to state that the Governor General in Council thinks that the testimony of four persons all of whom knew the Nana well and one of whom is Wroughton, who declares that there is no resemblance to the Nana, is amply sufficient to prove that *this person is not the Nana.*

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[1] *Wroughton, Robert Chardian,* Captain (late 12th Native Infantry), Deputy Commissary General, in charge of Executive Commissary Office, Calcutta. P. 131, *Bengal Army List The Bombay Almanac, 1862.*

His Excellency in Council requests therefore that the man and his companion be sent back to Bombay on the way to the place of their arrest.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

Fort William. (Signed) H. M. DURAND,

The 27th May 1862. Secretary to the Government of India.

14

Government of India orders return of supposed Nana to Bombay and Okhamandal.

No. 507. (Page 133). **Foreign Department Political No. 28/62.**

From

The Secretary to the Government of India.
(Calcutta).

To

The Acting Secretary to Government of Bombay.
Dated Fort William, the 27th May 1862.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 55, dated 8th instant, I am directed by the Governor General in Council to forward for the information of His Honor the Governor in Council, a copy of letter and its enclosures, from the Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 581, dated 21st idem, and of the reply to it under this date, *ordering the return to Bombay of the supposed Nana and his companion.*

2. The Bombay Government will take such further steps as it may deem necessary to ascertain who these men really are. But unless there be some very sufficient reason, they should not be any longer detained in custody. Indeed, it may be a question whether same compensation should not be made to them for their lengthened imprisonment on what proves to have been an unfounded suspicion.

Fort William,

The 27th May 1862.

(Minute:)

Relative to the persons supposed to be the Nana and his attendant.—

No. 3939.

On the arrival of this prisoners from Calcutta, they should be sent to Okamundel.

Copies of the papers necessary to carry out the enquiry then should at once be sent to the Resident at Baroda for communication to Cap. Rice who should report in what manner the prisoners can be conveyed to Okamundel and on

their arrival, Capt. Rice should be requested (having in the mean time prepared himself by a consideration of the papers) to enquire without further delay into their story and report whether there is any foundation for suspecting them of any penal offence either on this side of India or elsewhere. If nil, they should be discharged at once.

15

Government of Bombay asks the Resident at Baroda how best the Prisoners could be sent to Okhamandal.

(Page 139).

To

Lieutt-Col. R. WALLACE[1].

Resident at Baroda.

Sir,

I am directed to forward for your information, and for communication to your Assistant, Capt. Rice, a copy of the papers noted below*, relative to the persons supposed to be Dhondoo Punt of Bithoor and an attendant.

2. The H. E. C. desired that Capt. Rice be instructed to report in what manner the prisoners can be conveyed to Okhamundel. On their arrival at that place, Capt. Rice (having in the meantime prepared himself by a consideration of the papers now transmitted) should enquire, without further delay, into their story, and report whether there is any ground for suspecting them of any penal offence, either on this side of India or elsewhere. Should there be no ground, the prisoners should be discharged at once.

(Bombay Castle), (Signed)............................,

18th June 62.

[1] *Wallace, Robert H.* : Joined army in 1827, major, 20-6-1834. *The Bombay Almanac and Directory for 1862, pp. 26 and 350.*

* (*a*) Letter (with Accpts) from the Dep. Mag. incharge, Karachi, to the Commr. in Sind, No. 11, dt. 14th Dec. 61.

(*b*) Letter (with enclosures) from the Commissioner in Sind, No. 7, dt. 31st Jan. 1862.

(*c*) Letter to Govt. of India No. 23, dt. 11th March 62.

(*d*) Letter (with Accpts) from the Commissioner in Sind, No. 39, dated the 24th March 1862.

Letter to Govt. of India No. 49, dated 26th April 1862 further letter to Govt. of India No. 55, dt. 8th March 1862.

(*e*) Letter (with Accpts) from the Govt. of India No. 507, dt. 26th March 1862.

(These are actually in the margin but for convenience, they are printed as above. —*Ed.*)

16

Supposed Nana dies in Calcutta Hospital.

No. 587. (Pages 145-146).
The 18th June 1862.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal,
Judicial Department.
Fort William, (Calcutta).

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No 547 of the 9th Instant I have the honour to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Lt. Governor of Bengal that Harjee Brimojaree, (Brahmachari) the supposed Dhondoo Punt of Bithoor, died at 12 O'Clock last night in the Medical College Hospital.

2. I have thought it absolutely necessary that the Coroner should hold an inquest on the deceased person, not only because he was a prisoner at the period of his death, but that evidence may be taken and left on record to show that he was not the real Dhondoo Punt in the event of that criminal being arrested hereafter.

3. The result of the inquest will be duly communicated for His Honor's information.

I have etc.,
(Signed) S. WAUCHOPE,[1]
Commissioner of Police.

17

Bengal Government forwards a report regarding death of Hirjibhoy.

(Page 145).

No. 1751.

From

The Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department.

Dated Fort William, the 12th July 1862.

Judicial,

Sir,

In continuation of the endorsement No. 1138, dated the 12th ultimo, I am directed to forward to you the accompanying copy of a letter No. 587*, dated

[1] Joined East India Co. in 1841, Collector of Chittagaon up to 1857, Commissioner of Police, Calcutta since 1858. *The East India Register and Army List 1857* (Pages 9, 20), 1858 (Page 9).

* Reproduced in section 16.

the 18th idem, from the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, reporting the death in the Medical College Hospital of Harjee Brimojaree the supposed Dhundoo Punt of Bithoor.

2. Mr. Wauchope caused a Coroner's inquest to be held on the deceased person, for the reasons stated in his letter, the result of which will be reported hereafter.

3. Arrangements have been made by Mr. Wauchope to send back to Bombay the attendant of the deceased at his own request by the steamer "Coromandel" which is advertised to sail on the 13th Instant.

18

Government of Bengal forwarded to the Government of India a copy of the Coroner's inquisition together with the depositions taken by that officer of the inquest held on the body of Late Harji Brahmachari (No. 125-T, dated 21st July 1862, Page 177).

Depositions of the following persons were recorded by the Coroner :—

(1) Samuel Wauchope, Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.

(2) Edward Smith, Inspector of Police, Calcutta.

(3) Brijdass—the Attendant of Hirjee Brahmachari.

(4) Robert Chardin Wroughton, Deputy Commissary General, Calcutta.

(5) Hormusjee Bezenjee Modi (Formerly) in the employ of Nana of Bithoor.

(6) Josefh Fayrer, First Surgeon, Medical College Hospital, Calcutta.

(7) Kassee Chunder Dutta, House Surgeon.

(8) Charles Thomas Woodford, a Police Surgeon.

Depositions of the persons at Serial Nos. 1 to 3 and 6 are reproduced below. Substance of statements of persons at 4 and 5 have already appeared in section 12. The rest are omitted being not important.

Dated 23rd June 1862, (Page 158).

Fort William,

in Bengal to Wit. *Samuel Wauchope* 6B upon his oath, deposeth.

I am *Commissioner of Police*, I received through my Police from, on board the "Candia" fourteenth May in the evening a man who was sent to me supposed to being Doonda Punt of Bithoor, he was sent to me by order of the Governor General in Council. He was sent from Bombay that he might be sent to Cawnpore under safe custody for identification when I saw him he said he was unwell and he had a bottle of medicine in his hand — he said it had been given him by a doctor for his disorder I sent him to the Police Office that he might be detained until arrangements might be made, until he could be sent to Cawnpore from persons who had seen the real Doonda Punt of Bittoor frequently asked to seem the man in my custody — Major Wroughton was one.

This Parsee gentleman was another. They both saw him in my presence; but not on the same day. In consequence of the statements made to me by these two gentlemen and others I made a report to the Government of Bengal in consequence of which I received instructions from the Government of India not to send him to Cawnpore, but back to Bombay that he might be released where he was arrested. I have no reason to believe that he was treated otherwise then with kindness while in the charge of the Police of Calcutta. I saw him frequently myself; he made no complaint, he was kept in a large airy upper room at the Police and had his servant in constant attendance upon him. He was not kept on prison fare — his passage was taken for him on the "Candia" and he was to have left on the 9th June but his illness had increased so much that it was not considered safe to send him — he was then, and had been for some time in Hospital he was visited by the Police Surgeon at the Police Office shortly after his arrival. This is a copy of the order I received about the man from government.

Taken and acknowledged before me the day year and at the place first before mentioned.

(Signed) S. WAUCHOPE,
Commissioner of Police.

(Signed) John B. Roberts[1],
Coroner.

Fort William in
Bengal to Wit.

(Pages 161-162).
Dated 23rd June 1862.

Edward Smith—upon his oath, deposeth.

I am an *Inspector of Police* and it is my duty to receive all prisoners sent to the Police Office, — on the fourteenth May last about Ten O'Clock P. M. Mr. Superintendent M. Malien accompanied by some of the Bombay Police brought to me two men Hurjee Bremocharee was one and Sawat Brijodass was the other and the first was said by the Bombay Police guard to be the Nana Sahib of Bittoor the second was his attendant who said he was the cousin or chuchera Bhai of the first—the man *Hurjee Bremochuree* was weak and he had medicine with him in a bottle—he got worse in health and was sent to the Chandney Hospital on the Twenty-third May. He remained there till the Twenty-ninth he was better and asked to be allowed to return to the Police he did return, but during the day again complained of pain in the abdomen. He frequently complained to me of having an obstruction of the urinal passage that same evening he was sent to the Police Hospital and his servant was sent with him. He remained there till the eighth June—On the 7th I had orders to put him on board the "Candia" on the evening of the Eighth June. On board of which ship his passage and that of his servant had been paid for—I heard that the Doctor had reported the man Hurjee Bremochurree to be too ill to go on board—and I know that he was removed to the Medical College Hospital at 3 O'clock on the Eighth

[1] *Roberts, John Blessington* : Born July 17, 1819, private soldier in India in 1840; joined as Dy. Supdt. of Police in 1849; Dy. Commissioner of Police in Calcutta 1856-1863; J. P., Presidency Magistrate 1862-1871; Coroner of Calcutta...........died May 5, 1880. *DIB.* (P. 361).

June—He was taken in a Polkee and his servant was sent in carriage. The man was not kept on prison fare while in charge of the Police, at the Police Office—he had eight annas a day allowed for his food and his servant cooked for him—he never complained of ill usage from any one. He asked for a Cot and it was given to him.

It was reported to me that the man Hurjee Bremochurree died at midnight of the Seventeeth June instant—The man on my charge never described himself as any thing but Hurjee Bremochurree. His alias of Nana Sahib of Bittoor by which title he was more commonly known in Calcutta and given me by the Police Guard, from Bombay.

Taken and acknowledged before me the day year and at the place first before mentioned. (Signed) John B. Roberts,

Coroner.

(Signed) Edward Smith.

(Pages 165-166).

Dated 23rd June 1812.

Vrijdas says that Hirjee was his cousin.

Fort William in Bengal, to Wit.

(Calcutta).

Sri Brijodass—upon his Oath, deposeth.

I am a native of Dwarkonath near Rajcote, I am a Goozerattee. I am an Odiss (Oudichya) Brahmin. The man Hurjee *Bremochurree* was my cousin (brother). He was the son of my father's brother, was an Odiss (Oudichya) Brahmin. He was a writer of religious books—and was supported by alms given him. For twenty years, he had lived in a place MEER BHAYE (Mirabai). He had a Thacoor there where the Hindoos would worship—I am now speaking The Goozerattee language, Hurjee Bremochuree would speak the same language. I did not act as his servant, but I shared with him the proceeds obtained from devotees. We were both arrested at Kurrachee Bunder which is 250 Cos or (500 miles) from where we live at Dwarkanath. We had gone there seeking alms—this was our *custom every year* to travel about. We have gone before as far as Bombay. We went to Kurrachee by ship and on arrival, my cousin was arrested by the Police, suspected of being the Nana Sahib. He was said to be so on account of a mark under the eye; my cousin had a pock mark under the eye. We told the Police what we were, and where we lived. But we were not sent to our country for enquiry to be made—We were sent to Bombay, like prisoners under a Sepoy guard. It was a black man who said my cousin was the "Nana". He was a sick man in Kurrachee Hospital, but it was the Police who first stated that my cousin was the Nana. The sick man was brought to the Fouzdary in a Palkey to identify him. The sick man

said, "yes this is the "Nana". No one else said so. He was shown to many persons. Many rich sahibs saw him and all said he was not the Nana Sahib, except the sick man at Kurrachee Hospital. We were sent to Bombay and from Bombay were sent by steamer to Calcutta. My brother had a stoppage of his urine for 16 or 17 years. He got medicine on board the ship which brought him to Calcutta—and he had some medicine in a bottle when he arrived at the Police (office). I and my cousin were kept in a room together upstair at the Police (office)—We got subsistance allowance of eight annas a day—We were treated kindly while in Calcutta and when my cousin complained of being sick, he was sent to the Hospital. I feel sick with pain in my ear and was sent to the Hospital and when better, removed to the Police (Office) at my own request; I was not with my brother at the *Chandney* Hospital; but I was with him at the *astara* number (Police Hospital) and went him to the College Hospital when he died. He was treated kindly at the Hospital. Neither me nor my Brother have been treated with any unkindness since we have been in the charge of the Police of Calcutta. We have been shown to many Sahibs and others—who have been asked if my cousin were the man—All said he was not. This ring is my cousin's. He would wear it on his little finger—He was presented with the ring by a Mahajan; there is the Raja's stamp on it. I cannot read it. There is a man in the Bura Bazar who has come from Agra, who can read it; I cannot read or write. My cousin could read and write. He would write religious books.

I pointed out to the Coroner and his jury the body of my cousin Hurjee *Bremochuree*—that was the body of the man who was sent from Kurrachee *via* Bombay to Calcutta—My cousin was not the Nana Sahib of Bithoor he was a poor Brahmin I have never seen the Nana Sahib of Bittoor.

Sro Brijadooss
his X mark.

Taken and acknowledged Before me the day year and at the place first before mentioned. (Signed) John B. Roberts,

Coroner.

Fort William in
Bengal, to Wit.

The Information of Witness etc. (P. 171-172).
Joseph Fayrer[1], upon his Oath, deposeth.

I am first Surgeon in the College Hospital. On the Eighth June I was sent for to the Hospital to attend a man who was supposed to be the Nana of Cawnpore or Bittoor and who had been sent to Calcutta from Bombay—he was sent to my care by the Police, and I was told he had previously been a patient in the Police Hospital. He was in an upper room of the Hospital. I found him in a very low condition with a very rapid and feeble pulse a dry and brown tongue a low and tremulous voice an anxious and depressed countenance. I found he was suffering from sloughing of the Scrotum which was infiltrated with pus and urine, a good part of it detached by sloughing. I then made incisions to

[1] *Fayrer Joseph*, Surgeon, Professor of Surgery in the Medical College, Ex-Officio First Surgeon in the Medical College Hospital, Calcutta. *The Bombay Almanac and Directory, 1862—Bengal Army List* Page 567.

give free exit to the urine. This was done under chloroform—the patient spoke a language I did not understand. I was told it was Guzzerattee and a few hindee words interspersed—he spoke also while gaining consciousness after the Chloroform. I should say he spoke the language most familiar to him when he was partially under the influence of Chloroform and as far as I could judge he afterwards always spoke in the same language and tone of voice but stronger. I am quite satisfied that he was not simulating as regard language. He made no complaint of ill treatment of any kind. He was a very patient and quiet contented person very grateful for the attention he received and most willing to do any thing that was suggested for his benefit.

After the operation for two or three days there was improvement but he had been too seriously injured by the decease and he died on the seventeenth June 1862. In my opinion he died from the result of extravaration of urine which was itself the result of urethral decease of very long standing extravature of urine is to the last degree a dangerous disorder.

I made no post-mortem examination—the body was removed, that, it might be made by the Police Surgeon.

The body was that of a full Statured (5 feet 8 to 5 feet 10) male, he had quite the Rajpoot expression of countenance fair complexation for that race the limbs and body were well formed the Toes and fingers were perfect there was a slight cicatrix or congenital mark upon the left cheek under the eyelid but I did not observe any other peculiar mark upon his person—I did not examine his back. I had no object to do so.

(Signed) J. FAYRER, M.D.,
First Surgeon Medical College Hospital.

Taken and acknowledged before me the day year and the place first before mentioned. (Signed) John B. Roberts.

19

Government of India informed the Bombay Government about the death of Hirji and asked that Government to inquire "whether the unfortunate deceased has left any members of his family who were dependent upon him for support" (letter, dated 26th July 1862, Page 144). Thereupon Bombay Government entrusted the work to Col. R. Wallace, Resident at Baroda (letter, dated 9th August 1862, Page 147). Col. Wallace passed on this query to Captain Rice, Resident, Okhamandal, who informed in the following letter that **no relative of deceased was to be found.**

No. 37 of 1862. (Page 185).

Political Department.

From

Captain Rice, Assistant Resident, Ookamundel;

To

The Resident at Baroda.

Dwarka, 24th September 1862.

Sir,

I have the honour to report for your information that in accordance with the instructions received in your letter No. 419 of 1862, dated 23rd June 1862, every

effort has been made in vain to discover any relatives of the late Hurjee Brimcharee—the supposed Nana of Bheetoor. I therefore return the correspondence as directed.

2. To account for the apparent delay, I beg to observe that a final answer in the negative was only yesterday received from Nowanuggur (Nawanagar) *(from which town deceased came to Beyt twelve years ago)* in reply to the most searching inquiries instituted by the Chief Priests of the Beyt Temples—of one of which temples the late Hurjee Brimcharee was a servant.

I have the honour to be,

(Signed) W. RICE, Captain,
Assistant Residt., Ooka.

20

Vrijdas, the attendant of supposed Nana arrived in the "Coromandel" on the 8th August 1862, at Bombay (Vol. 4 of 1862, Page 153) and made the following petition to the Bombay Government for the restoration of his Jewels confiscated at Karachi.

(Page 178).

To

The Hon'ble The Governor in Council, Bombay.

The humble Petition of Cavick Brijdass the attendant of the late Hurjee Breemochurree of Dwarka but now in Bombay.

Shewith,

That your Petitioner and the late Hurjee Bremochuree were apprehended at Kurrachee under the impression that the said Hurjee Bromuchurree was Nana Sahib and your petition as his attendant and they were sent to Calcutta but from thence they were released and Hurjee died and your petitioner is returned to Bombay.

At Kurrachee when he was apprehended a gold neck chain and a gold-ring were taken from his persons and kept with the authority there but your Petitioner is informed that the Neck chain and ring are sent from Kurachee to Bombay. He therefore pray that your Lordship will be kind enough to restore your petitioners jewels as being his sole absolute property.

And your petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray.

Bombay, 26th September 1862.

Savick Brijdass living in Wittulwady
in the House of Pragjee.

21

Commissioner in Sind submits his report on the "gold neckchain" mentioned in the previous letter.

No. 180 of 1862.

(Page 180).

Political Department.

Report—

The Commissioner in Sind begs to submit for the information of Government the following report made on the case by the Magistrate of Kurrachee:—

"The Magistrate of Kurrachee has the honour to report that the necklace in question was reported to have been stolen from the Petitioner while in confinement in the Kurrachee Jail. A Prisoner and a Police Sepoy were tried on suspicion, but acquitted for want of evidence. No necklace of any kind whatever was deposited with the Police. The above information was given to the Deputy Commissioner of Police at Bombay who made a reference to the Magistrate on the subject of the necklace in the end of August last. The Petitioner is perfectly well aware of the real facts of the case, but, the Magistrate presumes, considers the course he had taken the best for recovering compensation. Through Mr. Forjett—"he applied for 'Rupees 150, the proceeds of a gold neck-ornament sold by him at Kurrachee while in custody and deposited with the Police.'"

Commissioner's Office, Kurrachee,
18th October 1862.

(Sd.) ....,
Commr. in Sind.

22

By his application, dated 30th October 1862, Vrijdas requested the Governor of Bombay to issue orders for his necklace **to be restored to him or in the alternative pay him the price of the ornament.** *(Vol. 5 of 1863, Page 177). On 18th November 1862, Vrijdass sent the following application requesting compensation from the Government of Bombay.**

Page 179.

To

His Excellency Sir B. Frere, K.C.B[1],
Governor and President in Council, Bombay.

The Humble Petition of Shawuk Brijdass.
Bhuggutram inhabitant of Guzerat now in Bombay.

Most humbly sheweth,

That your Petitioner, with due deference and humble submission, begs to lay the following circumstances for the favorable consideration of your Excellency in Council.

* P. D. Vol. 5 of 1863.

1 *Frere, Sir H. B. E.*, Governor and President in Council; took his seat on 24th April 1862. *Bombay Almanac, 1862, Bombay Civil List.* Page 541.

That your Petitioner and his *late cousin Harjee Bhramchary* were apprehended at Kurrachie in November 1860, the latter having been alleged to be the "Nana of Bithoor" and your Petitioner as "his attendant."

That your Petitioner with his cousin was kept in close confinement for a period of six months.

That during that period your petitioner and his cousin were now and then brought before many Government officers for inspection.

That after about two months from the date of seizure, your Petitioner was ordered to be taken before some Government officer and when leaving the premises of the jail, was informed by the police peons to let his articles remain there which he accordingly did being ignorant of their design and on his return to his misfortune found his gold necklace (Kunthia) worth about Rupees One Hundred and Thirty Five missing.

That your poor Petitioner reported of it to the jailor who after a careful enquiry and on investigation into the Police could not find it out for want of evidence which your poor petitioner could not procure being in jail and the article having been stolen by some one of the Government peons in his absence.

That your petitioner with his cousin after about six month's imprisonment was relieved with an assurance from Mr. Ingle, the Deputy Collector and Magistrate of Kurrachie (on your petitioner and his cousin requesting some remuneration for the loss they suffered together with the shame and hardship they were subject to, consequent on the imprisonment) that the kind and benevolent English Government (Ingrase Surcar) will injusticed be pleased to grant him some amount to make up the loss both of their usual earnings and the value of the missing ornaments.

That your petitioner with his late cousin, relying on that assurance and praying the Divine Power for having relieved them from that false and undeserved embarrassment, were waiting with patience, when to, their further misfortune some days after, they were reseized and taken before Government officials.

That on a declaration of an invalid from the hospital and the Fouzdar of the place, your petition with his cousin was again kept into custody.

That your petitioner and his cousin were then sent down to Bombay, where from after a fortnight they were put on board a Government steamer for conveyance to Calcutta.

That your petitioner's cousin owing to hardships as regards both food and convenience (altho plenty was offered) on board the steamer but particularly to the anxiety of the result and the disgrace brought on the family by this close confinement, fell sick and after a few days lingering sickness was caught into the clutches of the powerful human foe "Death" and thus was relieved from this world.

That your petitioner after much careful enquiry was found to have been foolishly and maliciously seized and therefore set free to go wherever he pleased.

That your petitioner then accepted a free passage on board a Government steamer and came down to Bombay.

That your petitioner on landing found himself tho' free a great loser, having been not only deprived of his earnings (Rs. 600) Rupees Six Hundred for the year he was in close confinement but also of his permanent employment consequent thereon together with his gold necklace the savings of his earnings.

That your petitioner had also missed a gold ring which Mr. Forgett restored.

That your petitioner since his release has been put to other expences by the laws of his caste.

That it has been the rule of the Caste, of a long standing, to subject any of his Caste Brethern, who may have been held in custody for whatever reasons, to go to Pilgrimage to any sacred place and to give a (sumarutna) dinner party to his caste on his return to his native country ere he be readmitted therein.

That your petitioner accordingly (as would appear from the accompanying requisition) was compelled to go to the river Godavery at Nassick (the nearest and less expensive place) to undergo certain ablutions for which he has been
200. put to expences amounting to about Rupees Two Hundred.

That your petitioner on his return to Beyt, his native country, shall also have
300. to drepay about Rupees Three Hundred the least, for a dinner party ere he will be permitted to join his caste and family the heaven decreed ties of which and the intense pangs of the seperation are known to all living.

That your petitioner has already sent in to your Excellency in Council two Petitions stating the above circumstances in brief to which to his misfortune he has received no reply.

That under such curious and melancholy circumstances your poor Petitioner humbly begs your Excellency will kindly condescend to look into his case and pitying him for the many hardships, bodily pain, public talk, loss of money and other peculiar incident he has been subjected to, will be graciously pleased to do him such redress as these singular incidents need and kindly relieve him from his pecuneary embarassments—embarassments that give him but very little repose and prove a constant plague.

That your petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray to the All Merciful for your Excellency's long life and Prosperity.

The Mark of Shaiwak
Brijdass Bhuggutramjee.

Bombay, 18th November 1862.

Address.

To

Shaiwak Brijdass Buggutramjee, Care of Bhawoo Hurrichundjee near Grant Portuguese Church House, No. 7, Bombay.

23

Bombay Government asked the Commissioner of Police to state the amount of compensation to be given to Vrijdas (13th December 1862, Vol. 4 of 1862—Page 190). The Deputy Commissioner of Police states in the following letter that Vrijdas be compensated by a payment to him of Rs. 200 as compensation and Rs. 105 for the loss of the necklace.

* **No. 1042 of 1862.** (Page 169).

To,

The Hon'ble H. L. Anderson[1] Esqre.,

Chief Secretary to Government,

Political Department.

Bombay, 27th December 1862.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Secretary Havelock's letter No. 3587, dated 13th instant, requesting me to state what I consider would be reasonable sum, with reference to his previous habits and style of living, to bestow on Sew Brijdass Bugut Ramjee as compensation for the inconvenience to which, for public reasons, he has been unavoidably subjected.

In reply I beg to state that on Sew Brijdass return from Calcutta, he preferred a claim for "Rupees 150 the proceeds of a gold neck ornament *sold* by him at Kurrachee while in custody and deposited with the Police."

On my applying to Mr. Kemball the Collector and Magistrate at Kurrachee for the amount, that Officer replied that the circumstances connected with the necklace had not been correctly stated by Sew Brijdass, and forwarded to me copy of a report from Major Perie, captain of Police at Kurrachee, in which it is stated that Sew Brijdass valued the necklace at Rupees 105, and said that "it was stolen from him while in the Kurrachee Jail, that one prisoner and one Police Sepoy were committed for trial on suspicion of having stolen it; but that there was no evidence against them and they were acquitted and that no necklace of any kind whatever was deposited with the Police."

It is probable from a Prisoner and a Police Sepoy having been *committed for trial*, charged with the theft of the necklace, that Sew Brijdass had sustained a loss of Rupees 105 while in the Kurrachee Jail which it is reasonable to suppose he would not have sustained had he not been a Prisoner and which therefore I am humbly of opinion should be made good to him.

Sew Brijdass is a Bramin; but from his own account has always followed the profession of a servant. He states that having been in confinement it is necessary that he should go through the ceremony of expiation the performance of which would cost him Rupees 500. Such ceremony, I beg to state, it is not necessary that he should perform and his situation in life considered, he will be fully, I am of opinion, compensated by the payments to him of Rupees 200 as compensation besides the Rupees 105 on account of the loss of necklace making in all Rupees 305.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. Forjett,

Deputy Commissioner of Police.

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* P. D. Vol. 5 of 1863.

[1] *Anderson, H. L.* Commencement of service 13th January 1840. *The Bombay Almanac and Directory for 1862 and Bombay Civil List.* Page 230 a.

24

Government of Bombay ordered that the sum of Rupees 305 should be awarded to Brijdass as compensation for the inconvenience suffered by him (letter, dated 19th January 1863, Vol. 5 of 1863, Page 175).

(Facsimile writing of Pandurang Mahipat Belsare)

I

A FRAGMENT OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1857.

The *Atmahakikat* of Pandurang Mahipat Belsare is a short autobiographical account of the adventures of the author, who, as a young man, left his native village of Pathardi in Ahmadnagar District and betook himself to Hindustan to make a career for himself. News of the revolt of the native soldiers in the Company's army had reached Deccan sometime late in 1857 and it was in a spirit of adventure and as a soldier of fortune that Pandurang Belsare, with three companions, started for the north. He says, "For a time I could not persuade my father to allow me to go to Hindustan to seek my fortune. But when the news of the revolt reached us my urge to go north, which I had been nursing for sometime past, became all the keener and I decided to take the plunge. It was my ambition to join the rebels, to make a sizable fortune and then to return home within about a year. If by the grace of God, I told myself, the rebels establish their authority and *raj* all would be well and I will not be wanting."

With these ideas at the back of his mind young Pandurang, who was 22 years of age, induced a boyhood friend of his, Dajiba Joshi-Kulkarni to accompany him to Hindustan. Dajiba did not require much persuasion. Indeed as he told Pandurang, he was himself thinking in his mind very much on the same lines as Pandurang. Both these young men took into confidence old Rachappa Koshti also of Pathardi with whom they were on very friendly terms. Rachappa joined them and Dajiba also arranged to take with him a Kunbi servant. This servant and Rachappa were to be sent back to Pathardi in due course to report the doings of the young men.

Pandurang Mahipat and his companions left Pathardi on 17th August, 1857. About 10 miles from Pathardi both the young men became footsore and found it difficult to continue their journey on foot. So they invested Rs. 11 in a pony which to some extent made their progress easy. One evening Belsare tells us "we arrived at a village on the banks of the Godavari. We wanted to buy provisions to cook our meal, but the village had no *bania* shop selling provisions and groceries. A Kunbi villager guessing the predicament of us hungry brahmins offered us *bajri* flour, grain flour, chilli-powder and other necessaries. But none of us knew how to cook or dress food. We did the best that we could under the circumstances."

On 24th August, 1857 we find the party on the outskirts of Burhanpur from where they went further north. At Sarangpur (23° 34′ N and 76° 29′ E) in Dewas (Jr.) territory they met a Gwalior Official, hailing from Pathardi, and a friend of Pandurang's father. "He warned us not to proceed further. Times are bad, he warned us, and it is difficult for a man from one village to go to another. If you meet officers or soldiers (of the Company) you would be considered baghis (rebels) and taken in custody. We begged him to allow us to continue our journey and we pushed forward."

L-c H 3193—9

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Striking north-east from Sarangpur, after about 10 days Belsare and his friends encountered the rebels and they just unobtrusively slid into their camp. Nobody bothered to enquire about them for a couple of days. But the leader of this party of rebels was the great Tatya Tope himself and Pandurang and his friends were produced before him. The young men represented to the rebel general that they had come up north to enlist in his service. Tatya was cautious and only after Belsare and his companions had satisfied a rigorous scrutiny were they allowed to join as clerks in the gunnery section of Tatya's contingent. The officer in charge of this section was Wamanrao Gadgil who entrusted the muster rolls of the section to Pandurang and Dajiba. Their salary was fixed at Rs. 40 each per month.

With Tatya Tope's army Pandurang and Daji went to Isagad where Tatya fought an action against the Gwalior forces stationed here. From Isagad the rebels moved on towards Bundelkhand. They seem to have spent 8th October to 27th October, 1858 in this area. "Wandering about in Bundelkhand the rebels encamped near Khajuri. That day we got provisions and rations to our entire satisfaction. We about twelve Brahmin lads of about the same age decided to cook a joint meal and eat it together. Rice, *dal, ata, besan*, oil, ghee, sugar, curds with all necessary accompaniments were brought together. We also prepared that delectable savoury, onion *bhajias*. As we were rinsing our hands after the meal there was a hue and cry in our camp that the English had made a surprise attack. All was confusion. I threw away the *lota* of water in my hand and without even changing my dinner dress I jumped on the back of my horse. Our company was ready for the march. But my horse could'nt move forward and, glancing back to find the reason for this, I discovered that I had not untethered the hoof of my mount. On all sides rose shouts of 'maro, maro, hushyar'. Enquiries finally revealed that the alarm of an English attack was a false alarm. One of our watchmen had got scared at one of our own riders arriving at the camp. Mistaking him to be the enemy he raised a warning cry which was immediately picked up every where."

Soon after this false alarm, the rebels had a real encounter with the Company's army in which they were thoroughly worsted and Tatya Tope was now on the run. Pandurang and his friend had enough of adventure by this time and while the rebels in their retreat had encamped at Talbet (in Lalitpur Tahsil of Jhansi District), they decided to quit and go to Gwalior where they had relatives.

Belsare then goes on to describe the misfortunes that befell his party on the way to Gwalior, how they were captured by the English and how they had to spend a couple of months in a prison at Jhansi. Finally he bribed his guards with his golden ring set with stones and his *bhickbali*, both of which he had cleverly hidden in his thick *shendi* tuft. This did not secure their freedom, but they were sent with an escort to Lashkar-Gwalior where presumably further enquiries about the bonafides were to be made. Pandurang's maternal grand-parents and a relation of his maternal aunt were in a good position in Gwalior service, and after Pandurang and his party were brought to Lashkar, they arranged to send a message to them at Gwalior about their predicament. Pandurang's companions too had friends and relatives in Sindia's capital. The party was still kept in confinement in Lashkar, but plenty of good food was sent to them by their relatives and provisions were also made available to them by their captors. Pandurang confesses that he and his companions did full justice

to these arrangements. In fact, in trying to make up for the hardships they had suffered till now, they very often over-ate but unmindful of the consequent discomfort they continued their gluttonous practices!

Finally, through the good offices of Pandurang's relatives, he and his companions were given their freedom, possibly early in 1859. Pandurang Mahipat now secured a good position for himself with Madhaorao Khot, a relation of his maternal aunt, who had already been of much help to him. Pandurang gives us some information about his career at Gwalior in Khot's service and he seems to have helped his father in getting for him an appointment to look after some of Sindia's villages in the Deccan.

Here the narrative of Belsare ends. It is an interesting document which gives a glimpse into the confused state of Malwa during the days of the rising. Historically it does not tell us much but it is the human side of the adventure that appeals to the reader with its unconscious humour, the trials and tribulations of Pandurang and his companions, the hardships they had to encounter and the privations they had to suffer. The great hopes with which the party left Pathardi and the ambition they nursed to build up a fortune were defeated during the short time they spent in the camp of Tatya Tope. But Pandurang succeeded later in Gwalior service to lay by sufficient amount to help the fortunes of his family at Pathardi which had so much dwindled, as he tells us at the beginning of his narrative, by 1854.

Though the heading of the *Atmahakikat* mentions that the period covered by it is from 1857 to 1900, it actually does not go beyond 1860 with a little vague mention of some later happenings. Young Pandurang left Pathardi on 17th August 1858. He does not give either the Christian year or the *shake*, but he just states that he and his companions left Pathardi on the 8th day of the bright half of Shravan. A little later he records that the 15th day of this bright half (Shravan Paurnima) there was an eclipse in 1857 (Shake 1779), but there was a lunar eclipse on Shravan Shuddha Paurnima in Shake 1780 which corresponds to 24th August, 1858. This fact enables us to some extent to reconstruct the chronology of Pandurang's adventures.

Pandurang Mahipat Belsare returned from Gwalior to his native Pathardi in 1887 and it was in 1900 that he started on this autobiographical account. But fading eye-sight, the loss of a son and domestic squabbles prevented him from completing it. Pandurang Mahipat died at Karanji (Taluka Pathardi, District Ahmadnagar) on 7th June, 1917. Pandurang married three times. He had one son from his second marriage and two sons from the third. Of these three sons Dattatraya Pandurang aged 58 is living and it is he who has given information used in this and subsequent paragraph and in some of the footnotes to the Marathi account.

On return to his native district of Ahmadnagar, Pandurang Mahipat acquired the *mukhtyari* of Ranjangaon in Parner Taluka and Tahrabad in Rahuri taluka by advancing a loan to Ganpatrao Raghunathrao Gadhave, jahagirdar of these villages. It was at Ranjangaon that this autobiographical fragment was written.

॥ श्री ॥

अत्महाकिकत सन १८५७ ते सन १९०० परियंतचें

प्रथम सन १८५४ पासून तीर्थरूप तात्या पोकर[१] यांचे गावीं जाहागिरीचे कामावर नौकर होते. ती जहागिर खालसा जाल्यावर घरीं बसल्यापासून पदरमोड करुन प्रपंच निर्वाह चालविला. कांहीं दिवसांत जवलची पुंजी सरली व केवळ कर्जावर निर्वाहा चालला कारण वडिलाची आब्रू व मान्यता आणि भ्रम साहुकारात असल्यामुळें कर्ज मिळण्यास अडचण नव्हती. अशी स्थिति आली तेव्हां आमचे बंधु अमृतराव व आम्ही[२] बरेच जाणते म्हणजे आमचे प्रथम कुटुंब निवर्तून दुसरे लग्न जाले होते. त्या कुटुंबास ऋतु प्राप्त जाला होता. सदरील वडिलांचा रोजगार निघून पदरमोड जेव्हां चालली तेव्हां आम्हास अुमजू लागले कीं वडिलांचा वृद्धापकाळ पाथरडीस[३] आपण राहतो येथे आपल्यास अुत्पन्न शेती भाती किंवा व्यापाराचे अुत्पन्न कांहीं नाहीं, तेव्हां वडिलांचे लौकिकाप्रो हा प्रपंच्य कसा धकावा, वडील बंधूनी दोन तीन पानमले लाविले व मी कर्ज काहाडून कोष्टी लोकांसी व्यापार चालविला, परंतु प्रारब्ध प्रतिकूल जाल्यावर कोणतेच्च गोष्टींत लाभ न होतां अुलट नुकसानी होअून कर्ज मात्र वाहाडले. पानमल्यांतील अेक दोन वेल धरल्यावर अुभयता बंधूनी मळा वाटून घेतला. त्यास कारागीर न मिळाल्यामुळें अुभा पानमळा मोकलून देणें भाग झाला, नंतर वडील बंधूंनी कर्ज काहडून कोष्टी लोकांसी व्यापार आमचेंप्रो चालविला त्यातही अंगी कजागपणा नसल्यानें व येककली स्वभाव असल्यानें बरीच बूड लागून कर्ज वाढत गेले, तीर्थरुपाच्या स्वभाव कर्जाबद्दल वगैरे अुभेतासी अवाक्षर काहाडावयाचे नाहींत व त्याजला माहीतही होत नव्हते कीं या सालांत आपल्यास अमुक कर्ज जाले ते दरसाल दिपवालीचे प्रतिपदेस तीन सावकार म्हणजे रघु अन्या लाड व लाहुजी आणि मगणीराम हुकुमचंद या त्रिवर्गाचे येथें तीर्थरुपांचें खातें होतें, त्याजकडे सदर मितिस जाअून कांहीं वसूल म्हणजे रुपया रुपया दोन दोन देअून खातें रुजू करून द्यावे व घरीं आल्यावर त्यांची जेष्ट भगिनी नामे विठाबाओी ताओी म्हणजे आमची आत अिजला सांगावे कीं अमुक अमुक सावकाराचें येथून जेष्ठ चिरंजिवांनी अमुक रुपये आणिले, व कनिष्ठ चिरंजीवांनी आमुक आणिले. त्याजवरून आमचे आतेनें आमचेवर ताप करावा कीं वडिलांचा वृद्धापकाळ अुत्पन्न तर येक कवडीचे नाहीं, प्रपंच तर कर्जावर चालला असोन आणखी त्यांत तुमचे व्यापारामुळें कर्ज वाढत चालले काय होओील वगैरे बोलण्याचे पुन्हा अुत्तर देत गेलो कीं आम्ही कर्ज फेडू, जाअू द्या आम्हांस रोजगारास, तेव्हां समजूत करून घरीं ठेऊन घ्यावे, असा क्रम बरेच दिवस चालला होता, अखेर आतेच्या बोलण्याचा अेके दिवशीं व आम्ही त्याजला वेळोवेळीं अुत्तरें दिल्याचा शांतपणें विच्यार केला. तेव्हां मनांत अुमजलें कीं वडील म्हणतात हें बरोबर आहे, वडिलांचे वृद्धापकाळीं त्यांची काळजी दूर करावी तरच त्यांचे अुदरीं जन्म घेतल्याचे सार्थक नाहींतर वृथा बोल फोल होअून जगतांत विटंबना होओील असा पक्का विच्यार करून व कोष्टी लोकांसी व्यापार करणें बंद करून कांहीं दिवस सोबती पाहण्याचे विचारांत होतो, पाथरडी गावांत आमचे समवयी बहुत मुलें होतीं परंतु त्यापैकीं दोन मुलें म्हणजे राजाराम कृष्ण कुलकर्णी जोशी निवढंगेकर व दुसरा आत्माराम काका तुंगार भटजी हे अुभेतां होते, त्यांस परदेशांत रोजगारानिमित्त चलावे म्हणून विच्यारिल्यावर प्रथम स्नेहानी नारुकार केला व दुसरे तुंगार यांनी सांगितले कीं मजला लिहिता येत नाहीं तुमचे बरोबरीनें आभ्यास केला, परंतु माझें प्रारब्धांत लेखनविद्या नाहीं तेव्हां मी तुमचे बरोबर येअून काये करूं, तेव्हां

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१ तात्या पोकर पाथर्डीचे रहाणारे. त्यांचे वंशज अजूनही या गांवांत रहातात. तात्या पोकर ग्वाल्हेरच्या चाकरींत शिरले ?

२ पांडुरंग महिपत.

बेलसरे जन्म १८३५. म्हणजे १८५८ सालीं ते २३ वर्षांचे होते. जन्म १८३५–मृ. १९१७. मृत्युसमयीं त्यांचें वय ८२ वर्षांचें होतें.

अमृतराव पांडुरंगरावांचे वडील बंधु.

बेलसरे कुटुंब देशस्थ ऋग्वेदी ब्राह्मण, भारद्वाज गोत्री त्रिप्रवरान्वित.

३ पाथर्डी–१९°·१०′ उत्तर व ७५°·११′ पूर्व. हल्लीं हें अहमदनगर जिल्ह्यांतील तालुक्याचें ठिकाण आहे.

सोबत्याबद्दल निराशा झाली आणि सोबत हमजात बरोबर असल्याशिवाय परदेशांत कसें जावे ही अडचण आल्यावर कांहीं दिवस विचारांतच होतो. याअवधींत अेके दिवशीं वडील आत्याबाओस प्रसन्नतेचे वेळेस प्रश्न केला कीं रोजगाराकरितां परदेशांत जाण्याची तीर्थरूपजीची परवानगी घ्यावी. त्याप्रमाणें त्यांणी तीर्थरूपजीस विच्यारल्यावर त्यांणी जावयाची परवानगी दिल्ही नाहीं. यामुळें नाविलाज जाला आणि परदेशांत जाण्याची तर अुत्कट अिच्छा जालीं. मी अेकवार प्रारब्धाचा फांसा टाकून पहावा, मग सर्वोत्तमास करणें असेल तसें होओल. या संधींतच अुत्तर हिंदुस्थानांत नानासाहेब व रावसाहेब[1] व बाळासाहेब हे त्रिवर्ग बंधू पेशवे बाजीरावसाहेबाचे दत्तक चिरंजीव ब्रम्हावर्तास राहत होते. त्याजकडे धर्मासंबंधी अंग्रेजी फौज बिघडून त्यांणी बंड केले. ती फौज सदर पेशवे यांस मिळून तिकडील सर्व छत्रावण्यांतील गोरे लोकांची कतल केली. ती अितकीं कीं गोरा कोठें नजरेसही पडत नव्हता. हा प्रकार सन १८५७ आिा सालीं शुरू झाला. त्या बातम्या अिकडें येअू लागल्या तेव्हां आमची अिच्छा पूर्वीची अतिप्रबळ होअून बंडवाल्यास सामील होअून पैसे मिळवून वर्ष साह महिन्यांत परत यावे अगर हरिसत्तेनें त्यांचे राज्य स्थापित जाले तर आपल्यास कांहीं कमी नाहीं असा पक्का निश्चये जाल्यावर व कोणतेहीं कार्य करण्याची अुमेद आल्यावर श्रीहरिकृपेनें सर्व अडचणी दूर होअून अिष्ट हेतु सिद्धीस जातो तो कसा पहा. मुख्यत्वें सोबत्याची अडचण होती ती दूर अशी जाली कीं त्या गावांत आपाजी पांडुरंग जोशी कुलकर्णी राहत होते त्यांचा जेष्ट चिरंजीव दाजिबा नांवाचा होता. त्याचाहि विच्यार आमचे विच्याराप्रमाणें बहुत दिवस ठरलेला होता. परंतु मुख्यत्वें सोबत्याचीहि त्यास अडचण होती. कर्मधर्मसंयोगानें आमची बातमी त्यांचे कानावर कशी गेली कोण जाणें. तो अेके दिवशीं श्रावण महिन्याचे नागपंचमीचे [१३ ऑगस्ट १८५८] अधीं दोन चार दिवस आम्हांस भेटून आपला हेतु परदेशांत जाण्याचा दर्शविला. आम्हीं तर या गोष्टीचे भुकेलेच होतो. प्रथम बैठकींत त्यांचे आमचे मत अेक जमले. कधी निघावयाचे म्हणून त्याणें मजला विच्यारल्यावर सांगितले कीं पंचमीच्या सणाआधीं आपण निघून गेलो तर घरचे माणसास दुःख होओल, करितां सिराळसेटाची[2] कर[3] झाली म्हणजे दुसरे दिवसीं आपण बंडवाल्याचे फौजेंत जाअू असा संकेत ठरून आपआपले घरीं गेलो. माघारी घरीं निरोप पाठविण्याकरितां आमचा अेक परममित्र वृद्ध रामापा म्हणून लिंगायत कोष्टी होता. त्यास माघारीं पाठविणेकरितां बरोबर नेण्याचा विचार के(ला). त्याजप्रो दाजिबानेंहि अेक कुणब्याचा मनुष्य मिळून असे चौघे जणे सदरील मितीस म्हणजे श्रावण[4] शुा ८ रोज सोमवारी (भौमवार) आम्ही चौघेही निघून अुतर दिशेचा रस्ता धरिला. तो अडरस्ताच होता. अुभैतांबरोबर

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१ रावसाहेब नानासाहेबाचा पुतण्या. P. D. Vol. 48, 1858, p. 275.

२ शिराळशेट Is the proper name of an ancient वाणी or cornchandler who became a king and reigned three and a half ghatikas. An earthen image of him is made and worshipped with festivities on the sixth (or fifth and sixth) of the light half of Shrawan. After the women have danced around it etc., it is thrown into a well or a tank.

Molesworth p. 791.

पहा शिराळशेटी—"ऐतिहासिक दंतकथा व गोष्टी" पृ. १७–१८ लेखक, दत्तात्रय विष्णु आपटे, चित्रशाळा प्रेस, पुणें १९२९.

३ कर — ग्रहण, अयनसंक्रांति व होळी आणि ज्या दिवशीं गावांत कोणी मनुष्य मेला असेल अशा दिवसांचा पुढील दिवस हा अशुभ मानतात. या दिवशीं कोणतेंहि शुभकृत्य किंवा गमन करूं नये.

महाराष्ट्र शब्दकोश, विभाग २ रा
(ओ–ख) पृ.—५९५
Molesworth p. 136.

४ श्रावण शु।। ८ मंगळवार — हें वर्ष इ. स. १८५८ च आहे. मोडक जंत्रीनुसार त्यावर्षी श्रावण शु।। ८ ही मंगळवारी येते. १७ ऑगस्ट १८५८. बहुश: "सोमवार" हा "भौमवार" च्या ऐवजीं लिहिला गेला असावा.

L-C H 3193—10 (1,078—9-62)

वाटखर्चाकरितां मजपासी नगदी अेक रुपया व कानांत येक दोन मोत्याची बिगभाली व हातांत अेक तांबडे खडयांची सोन्याची अगदी व दाजिबाबरोबर नगदी येक पैसाही नसोन फक्त येक सोन्याचे वेढ अजमासे दीड तोल्याचे होते. आम्ही पाथरडीपासून च्यार पाच कोस गेलो तर अगदी थकून गेलो. पुढें अेक पाऊलही टाकवेना, कारण अुभैतास चालण्याची संवय येक कोसाची नव्हती. मोठे मुष्किलीनें मौजे अेरंडगांव तालुके शेवगांव येा गेलो. पुढें चालावयाची शक्ति नाहीं. तेव्हां घोडे घ्यावे असा विच्यार ठरला. दाजिबानें गावात जाऊन घोडयाचा शोध केला, तर खेडेगांव असल्यानें घोडे मिळेणा. तेव्हां नाविलाज जाला. अखेर शोध करितां येक सिंगरु स्वारी न घातलेलें दाह अक्रा रुा मिळाली. त्यास खोगीर वगैरे काही नव्हते. तसेंच घेतले. बरोबर पाघुरणापोी म्हणजे दोन धोत्रे व अेक मुगटा अितकें होतें. दिवस पावसाळा असल्यामुले रस्त्यानें फार हाल जाले. असो. आस्तमानचे वेलेस गंगाचे[1] कांठीं येक खेडेगांव होते तेथें मुक्कामास गेलो. व आटा, दाल घेऊन स्वयंपाक करण्याचा विच्यार केला. तर त्या गावांत वाण्याचे दुकान नसल्यामुळें येका कुणब्यानें दिवसभर ब्राम्हण अुपोषित असल्यामुळें चौघापुरते बाजरीचे पीठ व बेसन तिखट, मीठ वगैरे दिल्हे. आतां स्वयंपाक करण्याचा कोणासही येत नव्हते. यामुळें कसेतरी करून पोटास गोळा दिल्हा. दुसरे दिवसी नदीवर जाऊन कासेस लागून पार नदीचे गेलो. घेतलेल्या घोडयावर पाळीपाळीनें बसावे व दररोज चालण्याचा माव्हरा पडल्यामुळें पुढे श्रम कमी होत चाललें. असें मुकाम करीत मौजे बाहदरपूर ब्न्हणपूरचे अलीकडे तीन कोसावर आहे. तेथें धर्मशालेंत श्रावण[2] शुा १५ चे दिवसी अस्तमानीं अुतरलो. ते दिवसी चंद्रग्रहण होते. नळावर स्नानास गेलो. तर बरकंदाज नित्य नेमाप्रमाणें मुशाफरा-बदल चौकसी करण्यास आले. तेथील चौकसी करून आम्ही ज्या नळावर स्नानास गेलो होतो तेथें येऊन चौकसी करितां नांवे व राहण्याचें गांव विच्यारिलें व पुढें कोठें जावयाचे हेंही विच्यारिल्या-वरून लस्करात जावयाचे म्हणोन सांगितलें. तेव्हां त्या बरकंदाज[3]—म्हणजे पोलीसचे सिपाअी यांणी सांगितलें कीं तुम्हांस पुढें जाऊ देण्याचा सरकारचा हुा नाहीं व तुम्ही ठाणेदारापरियेंत चलावे. त्या देशांत फौजदारास ठाणेदार म्हणतात. तो फार चांगला मनुष्य होता. त्याजकडे आम्ही गेलो. त्याणें विच्यारिल्यावरून जी हाकीकत पूर्वी सांगितली होती तीच त्याजला सांगितली कीं अमचे आप्त लस्करांत[4] आहेत, त्यांचे भेटीकरितां जावयाचे आहे. आणि आम्ही गांव सोडून बरेच लांब येथपावेतो अलो. आतां माघारी जाणें लाजिरवाणें आहे व भेटीची अुत्कट अिछा दाखऊन थोडे दुःखही प्रदर्शित केल्यावरून त्यांणी आम्हांस अेक मंत्र सांगितला व आपले किताबीवरही तसेच लिा घेऊन आम्हास परवानगी दिल्ही. पुढें आम्ही दरकूच मुकाम चालत असतां मौजे सारंगपूर[5] येथें मुास अस्तमानी जाऊन धर्मशाळेंत अुतरलो. त्या गांवांत दाजिबाचा आप्त चुलत चुलत बंधू होता. कदाचित त्याची गाठ पडल्यास जाण्यास अडथळा होअील म्हणोन तेथें येका कोपऱ्यांत बसून राहिलो. दुसरे दिवसी प्राथःकाली अुठून गांवाजवळ नदी[6] होती तेथें शौच्य-मुखमार्जन करावयास गेलो तर तिकडे न जाण्याविशई दुसरे विघ्न अुत्पन्न जाले. ते असें कीं पांडोबा तात्या राजवाडकर पाथर्डीचे ठाण्यांत दप्तरदार होते. ते रावराजे दिनकरराव राज-वाडकर शिंदे सरकारचे दिवाण होते. त्याचे आप्त होते व सदरहू गृहस्थाचा व आमचे वडिलांचा स्नेह असोन आमचे वडिलांणी त्यास आमचे वाडयांत राहण्यास जागा दिल्ही होती. त्यांची गांठ पडली. त्यांणी आम्हांस विच्यारिल्यावरून दोन हेतु धरून आम्ही लस्करांत जात आहोत. येक तर आजा आजी मातुल पक्षाची वृध झाली आहेत व दुसरे काही रोजगार लागल्यास खटपट करून पहावी म्हणोन जात आहोत. त्याणी सांगितलें कीं दिवस फार वाअीट आहेत. या गांवचा

१ गोदावरी.

२ चंद्रग्रहण १८५८ सालीं होतें. १८५७ सालीं नाहीं. २४ ऑगस्ट १८५८ मंगळवार.

३ बरकंदाज—(Musketeer or matchlockman) बंदुकवाला शिपाई.

४ लष्कर—ग्वाल्हेर शहराचा एक भाग. पांडुरंग महिपत यांचे मातामह या ठिकाणीं रहात असत.

५ २३°·३४ उत्तर ७६°·२९ पूर्व मुंबई-आग्रा रस्त्यावर इंदूरपासून ७४ मैल.

६ काली सिंध नदी.

मनुष्य त्या गावास जात नाहीं. येखादे अंमलदार अगर सिपायाची गांठ पडली तर बागी म्हणोन तुम्हांस धरून नेतील. मग परदेशांत तुमचा वाली कोणी नाहीं करितां तुम्ही जाऊ नये व आम्ही जाअू देत नाहीं तेव्हां मोठी फिकर पडली. अखेर अनेक मिनतमान्या करून त्याजपासून सुटका करून घेतली. पुढें वाटचालीस लागलो. नित्य नेमोा वाट चालावी व येखादें सुमनुष्यास हालकेच विच्यारावें कीं बागी लोक कोठे आहेत? पचोर[1] ब्याव-याचे मुकामास आम्हीं आलो व तेथें चौकशी करिता झालरापाटण बागी लोकांनीं लुटून जवळपासच ते आहेत[2] अितके अैकिल्यावर मार्गक्रमणास लागलो. सडकेनें चालत असतां सरासरी नअू दाहा दिवसाचे सुमारास तोफेचे व बंदुखीचे आवाज जवळच अैकू येअू लागले. थोडा वेळ जाला नाहीं तोच आम्ही ज्या सडकेनें चाललो होतो त्या सडकेवर हाजारो मनुष्य स्वार पलटणी, तोफखाना वगैरे आले त्यांत आम्ही त्रिवर्ग मिसळून गेलो.[3] येथें म्हणण्याचे कारण येक गोष्ट लिहावयाची विसरलो. ती असी कीं घरचें माणसें कालजी करीत असतील तर त्यांस लस्करांत गेलो. आपण कालजी करू नये म्हणोन निरोप बहादरपूर मुकामीहून जो गडी दाजिबानी बरोबर आणिला होता त्याजबरोबर त्यास परत पाठविल्यामुळें त्रिवर्ग सदरी लिा आहे. असो. ती फौज जिकडे जाअील तिकडे आम्ही त्रिवर्ग त्याचा मुकाम जेथें जाला तेथ पावेतों गेलो. त्या फौजेंत आमचे कोणीच वोळखीचे नसल्यामुळें ते दिवसी अुपषणच जाले. फौजेची अुतरण्याची मिसल लागून चहुकडे पिकेट म्हणजे चौकी पाहऱ्याचा बंदोबस्त जाल्यावर फौजेची तपासणी जाल्यात आम्ही त्रिवर्ग नवीन मनुष्य दिसल्यावरून कनिष्ट अधिकाऱ्यांनी वरिष्ट अध-(का)री दुयेम तात्यासो टोपे याजकडे आम्हांस हजर केले. त्यांणी दर्याफ्त करितां जी हाकिगत होती ती खरी सांगून हेतु दर्शविला कीं दक्षण प्रांती आपला लौकिक अैकन दर्शन घेणेचे अिछेनें आलो. यात कृपा होअून कांहीं तरी नौकरी मिळाली म्हणजे श्रमाचे सार्थक होअील वगैरे सांगितल्यावर आमचे बोलण्याचा त्यांस विश्वास वाटेना. तेव्हां त्यांणी आमचे झाडे घेतले तर आमचेपासी कागदपत्र कांहींच निघाले नाहींत. तथापि त्यांची शंका गेली नाहीं. यामुळें त्यांणी आम्हांस पलटणवाल्याचे ताब्यांत देअून त्यांस हुा केला कीं ये लोक गुरुंदे हैं—म्हणजे खबर पोचविणारे आहेत. अिनका ज्याप्ता अछे तऱ्हे रखो. त्याप्रमाणें त्यांणीं दोनतीन दिवस सक्त नजर ठेऊन बारीक रीतीनें चौकसी केली. परंतु आम्हीं जर खोटे सांगितले असते तर त्यांचे चौकसीत कांहीं तर खरे बाहेर येते परंतु तसा प्रकार काहींच त्यांचे दृष्टीस पडला नाहीं. सबब खातरी झाली कीं हे गोरंदे नाहींत. तेव्हां सदर अंमलदारानें तीन च्यार दिवसानंतर तात्यासो टोपे यांजपासी आम्हांस हजर करून सांगितले कीं हुजूर हमने बहोत चौकसी कीअी, लेकिन ये गोरंदे नहीं, ये बिचारे पेटके खातर नोकरीके अिरादेसे आये है—असें अैकिल्यावर तात्या टोपे याणी वामनराव गाडगीळ म्हणौन सर्व तोफखान्यावर अफीसर होता त्यास बोलाऊन सांगितले कीं या दोघांस नौकरी देअून यांची तारीख दप्तरीं लिहून ठेवा. त्याप्रो वामनरावजीनी आपले डेऱ्यांत नेअून तोफखान्यावरील कप्तानास व मेजरसाहेबांस बोलाऊन साह तोफखान्याचे काम सांगितले व दाजिबास दोन तोफखान्याचे काम सांगून तोफखान्याचे मष्टरोल आमचे सुपूर्द करून दरमाहा च्याळीस ४० रुो प्रत्यकास मिलत जातील असा हुा दिल्हा. त्याप्रमाणें आम्ही अुभैतां काम करू लागलों—हे प्रथम प्रकर्ण घर सोडल्यापासून हाकिकत जाली. आतां यापुढील दुसरे प्रकर्णात वृत जाले ते खाली लिहिल्याप्रो.

प्रकर्ण दुसरे

त्या फौजेंत नोकरी लागल्यावर त्याचेबरोबर लढाअीचे वेलेस मोर्च्यावर हजर राहावे लागत असे. कधी दोन च्यार दिवसानी अंगरेज सरकारची गांठ पडल्यावर प्रहर साह घटका लढाअी होअून अखेर आमचेकडील फौजेचा मोड जाल्यावर जिकडेतिकडे पळापळी व्हावयाची. परंतु सर्वत्रांस तात्या टोपे व रावसो पेशवे यांचा हुा असा होता की जिकडे मेघडंबराचे हाती जातील

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१ पचोर हें सारंगपूरच्या ईशान्येस नरसिंगगड प्रदेशांत आहे.

२ तात्या टोपे यानें या सुमारास म्हणजे १८५८ च्या ऑगस्ट अखेरीस झालरापाटण काबीज करून लुटलें होतें.

३ ही तात्या टोपेची फौज असून ती झालरापाटणहून इसागडकडे जात होती.

L-C H 3193—10a

तिकडे त्याचेबरोबरच बाहीर बुणगे जात होते. मागे फक्त जंगी लढाअू फौज मात्र राहत होती असा क्रम चालला होता. नेटीव संस्थानात म्हणजे पाटणा, बरवा, सागर येथे ज्या लढाया बागी लोकाच्या व संस्थानिकाच्या जाल्या त्यात बागी लोकाचा हटकून जेय व्हावयाचा व तेथील लढाअू सामान तोफा, दारुगोळा व खज्यान्यातील सर्व द्रव्य बागी लोकांनी लुटून आणावे. ते अंग्रेजी फौजेचा सामना जाला म्हणजे तोफा वगैरे सर्व ते बागी लोकांचा मोड जाला म्हणजे टाकून पळ काढीत होते. असे करतां करतां आम्ही शिंदे सरकारचे राजधानीचे अिलाख्यांत अिसागड जिल्हयात गेलो. अिसागडास[1] ते वेलेस गोविंद नारायण सुभे होते. ते दक्षणेपैा श्रीगोंदे येथील राहणार म्हणोन मागाहून कांहीं दिवसांनी आम्हांस समजले. त्या शहरावर प्राथःकालचे सात साडेसात वाजतां पोहोचलो. आणि सुभेसोाकडे सांगून पाठविले कीं आम्ही लढाअीचे अिराद्यानें आलो नाहींत, आम्हांस फक्त रसद,[2] बरदास्त[3] वगैरे पाहिजे. ती पाठऊन द्यावी म्हणजे येक दिवस मुकाम करून पुढें जाअू. सुभे यांणी अुलट निरोप पाठविला कीं आटा, डाल वगैरे तैयार होत आहे, मिसल[4] लागल्यावर पाठवून देअू. त्याप्रोा दहा अक्राचे सुमारास फौजेंत वाण्याचे दुकानें आली, ज्यास जे लागत होते ते त्यांणी घेअून वाण्यानी सांगितल्याप्रोा सर्वत्रांनी वाण्याचे दाम चुकऊन दिल्हे. वाणी शहरांत दोन अडीच वाजतां गेल्याबरोबर शहराच्या वेसी बंद केल्या व तीन वाजतां अिसागडचे किल्यावरून सुभ्यानी हुा दिल्हयावरून तोफेचा गोळा बागी लोकाचे फौजेंत घेअून पडला. तेव्हां अिकडील लोक सावध होअून तैयारी केली. त्या शहरावर हाल्ला कर्ण्यास काय ते दोनच मार्ग होते. येक चंदेरी दरवाजा व दुसरा सोपूर दरवाज्या. बाकी चहूकडून तलाव खंदकाप्रोा पाण्यानें भरला असल्यामुळें येकही मनुष्य जाण्यास कठीण होते. नंतर आमचेकडील फौजेचे दोन डिविजन केले. निमी फौज घेऊन रावसोा पेशवे सोपूर दरवाज्याकडे गेले आणि तात्या टोपे चंदेरी दरवाज्याकडे लढू लागले. आस्तमान होण्याची वेल जवल येत चालली तेव्हां बागी लोकांचे आफीसरांनी डबल च्यार्ज कर्ण्याचा हुा देअून येकदम वेसीपासी जाअून पोहोचलें. पाहतांत तो वेसीचे छेपिलीवर[5] गोळयाचा पाअूस पडत असोन तसाच गांवकोसास शिडया लाविल्या. प्रथम जो वर जाअील त्यास सोन्याचे कडे, कंठी बक्षिसा देअू केल्या. हा क्रम चालला असतां व्येसीचे कवाडे मोडून येकदम हाला करावा आसा विचयार ठरला. वेसीस मोठे मोठे खिले लाविले आसोन बाहेर पाअूण फूट सुमारे अनकुजीदार भाल्यासारखे खिळे लाविले होते. हे कवाडे कसे मोडतील ? त्यास असी युक्ति काहडली कीं कवाडास आडवा अुंट लावून त्या उंटास हतीकडून ठोकर देअून कवाडे मोडावी. येक अुंट मेला तर चिंता नाहीं. परंतु कवाड मोडून शहरांत हाला जाण्यास बरे पडेल. या प्रोा केले. तेव्हां कवाड मोडल्यावर येकदम हाला शहरांत खुसला. सिपायास आफिसर लोकांनी हुा दिल्हा कीं सर्वत्रांस लूट माफ व शहरचे विजन[6] करावे. म्हणजे जो मनुष्य सांपडेल त्यापैा मूल व स्त्री आणि अति वृध यांस न मारतां बाकी सर्वत्र कापून काहडावे. त्याप्रो जो सांपडला तो मारला गेला. तेव्हां सर्व शहरभर येकच हालकालोळ होअून गेला. सुभेसोा येका वोस घरांत अुकरडा पडला होता त्यांत पुरून घेअून प्राण वांचविले. दुसरे दिवसी आम्ही शहरांत गेलो तर सर्व रस्त्यानी प्रेते पडलेलें असोन बायका मुलें वगैरेचा रडण्याचा स्वर अैकू येत होता. असा भयंकर देखावा पाहून

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१ इसागड-२४°·५० उत्तर ७७°·५५ पूर्व.

Tatya's Isagadh Campaign *see* Wood, *From Midshipman to Field Marshal*, Vol. I, p. 135.

२ रसद—धान्य, दारुगोळा वगैरे युद्धोपयोगी सामुग्री.

३ बरदस्त—पाहुणचार, मेहमानी, व्यवस्था.

४ मिसल—हुकूम ; व्यवस्था ; दर्जेबन्दी ; अनुक्रम.
One's regular or appointed spot (for pitching one's tent in a camp)

मिसल लावणें—तयारी झाली, व्यवस्था झाली. उदा. कागदाची मिसल लावणें.

मिसल—An association or a company.

मिसल— here means arrangement of camp and shops ?

५ छेपिली—छपेली, वाडयापुढील चुनेगच्ची ; आगाशी ; सफेली ; तटाच्या वरील गच्ची.

६ विजन—ओसाड ; निर्मनुष्य.

आंगावर कांटा आला आणि दुःखही वाटलें. नंतर पुढें जाऊन येक दोन वाडे मोठे होते, त्यांत सिरलो तर मनुष्य कोणीच द्रिष्टीं न पडतां भांडे पात्रेंही फौजवाले घेऊन गेल्यामुळें दिसले नाहींत. परंतु धान्याची मात्र फार नासाडी सिपाओी लोकानी केली. ती असी कीं द्रव्याचे असेलें सिपाओी लोकांनी पोते व कणकी कोठयांतील दाल, तांदूल, गहू वगैरे जमिनीवर टाकून दिल्हे होते. त्यामुले येकांत येक मिसळून सर्व नाश जालेला द्रिष्टीस पडला. त्यापो चांगले तांदूल आम्ही आपलेपुरते म्हणजे त्रिवर्गापुरतें घेऊन गांवचे बाहेर येऊन स्नान संध्या करून भोजन नंतर सर्वत्रांचे कूच जाले. फौजेसमेत दोन च्यार कोस जाऊन फौजेचा पढाव पडला म्हणजे मुकाम जाला. आम्ही जेथे अुतरलो होतो तेथेच जवल अिसागड सुभायतीपो येक कारकून केशवराव कृष्ण जात ब्राम्हण, अुमर वर्ष तीस बतिसीचा अुतरला होता. जातीचा ब्राम्हण असल्यामुळें त्याची आमची बोलचाल जाल्यात परस्परे हाकीकत कळली. त्यास आम्ही विच्यारिले कीं तुम्ही या संकटांत नोकर असतां कसे अला ? त्याणे सांगितले कीं फौजेंत पैसे, लूटमार वगैरेचे बहुत मिलतील या असेनें आलो. आम्ही त्यास अुतर दिल्हे कीं तुमचे सारखेच आम्ही गाढव असे मूर्खपणा करून यांत येऊन फसलो. येथील अनुभव आल्यामुळें आतां घटकोघटकी फार पश्चाताप होतो. परंतु अतां अुपयोग काय ? फौज सोडून कोठे जावे तर चहूकडून अंग्रेजी फौजेचा गराडा च्यार पांच कोसांचे अंतरानें आहे. येखादा दुसरा फौजेंतून बाहेर जाण्याचे अिराद्यानें निघाला कीं बरकंदाज अगर हर कोणी मनुष्यानी बागी म्हणून धरून ठाण्यात हाजर करावे. ठाणेदारांनी फौजेचे अधिकारीसाहेब लोकाकडे पोहोचविले म्हणजे त्याची शंभर वर्ष भरलीच म्हणावे. साहेबांनीं फासीचा हुग दिल्हा म्हणजे धरून आणलेला मनुष्य बागी म्हणून फासीवर चढवावयाचा. त्याचा न्याय वगैरे कांहीं पाहवयाचा नाहीं. असे स्थि(ती)त फौज सोडून कसे जावे ? येथेंच जे होणे असेल तसे होओील वगैरे सर्व हाकीकत त्यांस सांगून आणखी सांगितले कीं याहीपरतें दुसरे दुःख फार मोठे असह्य ! रोज दोन प्रहर जाले म्हणजे अन्न आठ आठ दिवस द्रिष्टीस पडत नाहीं. यामुळें किती क्लेश होत असतील ते ज्यास हा अनुभव असेल त्यासच माहीत. म्हण आहे कीं अंतःकालापेक्षां माध्यान्हकाळ फार कठीण. ती म्हण करणारानी यथार्थ केली हें मी स्वानुभावावरून म्हणत आहे. आता अन्न मिलत नव्हते तर प्राण कसे वाचले म्हणाल तर आत्मराजास कांहीं तर गोळा मिळाला म्हणजे चालते. मालवा देश सुपीक असल्यामुळें गांवोगांव धान्याचे पेवे भरलेले होते. गांवांतील मल आगर स्त्री येखादी मिळाल्यास तीस विच्यारले म्हणजे त्यांणी गव्हाचे अगर हरभऱ्याचे येखादे पेव दाखविले म्हणजे त्याजवर हजारो लोकांच्या झुंडी जाऊन पडावयाच्या. त्यांत आपणही जाऊन सेर पावसेर मिळाल्यास आनं(द) वाटावा. परंतु गहू मिळाल्यास फार पंचाओीत; त्यास दळण्यास साधन नाहीं. तेव्हां घरोंहून नेलेला येक फक्त तांब्या त्यांत घालून सिजवावे तर त्यास सरपण कोठून मिळणार ? दिवस बरसातीचे असल्यामुळें व जमीन काळीभोर मालव्याची — तीत बोरायेवडा खडा मिळण्याची पंचाओीत. काट्याकुट्या दैवयोगानें मिळाल्या तर खालीं चिखल असल्यामुळें चूल पेटत नसे. तेव्हां कसेतरी करून त्या गव्हाच्या घुगऱ्यास अग्निडाक देऊन अुदरपूर्ति करावी. कदाचित सुदैवानें येखादे दिवसीं हरभरे मिळाले तर परमावधीचा आनंद होत असे. कारण त्यास सिजविणें वगैरे कांहीं न लागतां त्यामुळें निर्वाहा कसातरी चाले. सदरील दोन्ही धान्य म्हणजे गहू किंवा हरभरे दररोज मिलत असते तर बरे होते. परंतु आठ दहा दिवसांनीं अगर पंधरा दिवसांनी येखादे वेलेस मिलतात. मध्यंतरीचे दिवसांत खाण्यास सेतांतील मका मालव्यांत मकीचे पीक फार व तो मका अिकडील प्रमाणें पाण्याखाली नसोन जिरायत सेतांत पेरलेली असती. भाद्रपद महिन्यांत तीस दाणें आले नसोन फक्त मका निसवली होती. ते तसेंच कंद तोडून वरचा पाचोळा काहडून ते कंद गाजरा सारखे खाऊन अुदरपूर्ति करावी याप्रो अन्नाची व्यवस्था जाली. वस्त्राबद्दल हाकीकत, दिवस बरसातीचे असल्यामुळें व निजण्यास जागा निवाऱ्याची नसल्यामुळें आठ प्रहर अंगावरी(ल) कपडे वोले असोन रात्रौ जमिनीवर चिखलांत निजण्याची सोय असी करावी लागते कीं पळसाचे पानाचे ढेगळे भाराभर तोडून आणावे, ते खाली अंथरुन निजावे. नोकरी लागल्यावर दोघांनी दोन घोडे विकत घेतले होते. माझा घोडा मोठा होता व दाजीबाची लाहण होती. ते घोडे पायथ्यासीं. त्यांचें खोगरे न काहडतां बांधून

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१ ८ सप्टेंबर—७ आक्टोबर, १८५८.

ठेवावे, त्यास दाणा मिलत नसोन गवतावरच राहत असत. याप्रो या फौजेंत आल्यापासूनें दिनचर्याची हाकीकत केशवराव यांस सांगितली. असे स्थित आम्ही येअून फसलो. तुम्ही कशास आला ? ही हाकीकत अैकिल्यावर त्यासही पश्चाताप जाला परंतु अुपयोग काय ? प्रारब्ध दशेनें यातून निर्गत लागून आपण आपले घरीं जाअू तेव्हां खरे. येकंदरीत असे कालजीत दिवस काहाढीत त्या फौजेबरोबर आम्ही फिरत राहिलो. अंग्रेजी फौजेचा मुकाबला होअील ते दिवसी कांहीं वेल लढाअी करून पळ काढावा असे करतां करतां आस्विन शुा[1] पक्षांत आम्हीं बुंधेलखंडांत गेलो. तिकडे भ्रमण करीत असतां मौजे खजुरी या गांवीं बाग्याचे फौजेचा मुकाम जाला. ते दिवसीं सर्व फौजेस रसद बरदास्त मनासारखी मिळाली. आम्ही त्या फौजेंत दाहा बारा ब्राम्हण समयवई होतो. सर्वत्रांचा विच्यार ते दिवसीं असा ठरला कीं येकंदर स्वयंपाक करावा. त्याप्रमाणें आटा, दाल, तूप, साकर, बेसन, तेल, दही, तांदूल वगैरे आणून स्वयंपाक, कांद्याचे भजे वगैरे करून भोजन होअून हात धूत आहोत तर फौजेंत येकच गूल झाला कीं अंग्रेजी छयापा आला. तेव्हां येकच गडबड अुडाली. भांडे जेथीलचे तेथे टाकून वोवळें न होतां घोड्याची आघाडी सोडून घोड्यावर बसलो. पिछाडी सोडल्याचे भान राहिले नाहीं. सर्व फौज हात्यारबंद येक क्षणांत तैयार जाली. रात्र चांदणी असल्यामुळें दिवसासारखे चांदणें पडले होते. घोडा कां चालत नाहीं म्हणोन मागे पाहिले तो पायेबंद तसाच होता. तेव्हा खाली अुतरून पायेबंद सोडून तरवार बंदूख घेअून पुन्हा घोड्यावर बसलो. फौजेंत येकच गलबला अितका जाला होता कीं कोणाचा बोल कोणास अैकू येत नव्हते. गलबल्यांत मारो हुशार हेच शब्ध निघत होते. असा घोटाळा येक प्रहरभर चालला होता. अखेर चौकसी होतां असें समजले कीं छयापा अला नसून फक्त पिकेटवाला बदलीचा स्वार घोडा भरधाव टाकीत अला. अलीकडील पाहरेवाल्यानी पाहून त्याचे पुढील पाहरेवाल्यास वर्दी दिल्ही कीं छयापा अला, यामुळें येकच गर्दी जाली. प्रहरानंतर स्थिरस्थावर होअून फौजेचे लोक व आफीसरांनी पाहरे चौकीचा बंदोबस्त पाहून निजले. नित्यनेमाप्रमाणें रात्रीचे तीन वाजतां कुचाचा बिगूल प्रथम व्हावयाचा व दुसरा अर्ध घंट्यानें व्हावयाचा व तिसरा च्यार वाजतां जाला कीं मेघडंबराचे हाती व बहिर-बुगण्यांनी कूच करावे. मागे फक्त जंगी लढाअू फौज राहवयाची. तिचा कूच सूर्योदयाचे वेलेस व्हावयाचा असा नेम असे. खजुरी या गांवावर फौजेचा पढाव पडला होता. त्यापासून गांव पाव मैल दक्षणचे बाजूस होता. फौज ज्या जागेवर अुतरली होती त्या जागेची स्थिती असी होती कीं चहुकडून नाला खोल असोन त्या नाल्यांत दगडाचे मोठमोठे वोळ असोन खेरीज करवंदीचे झाडे पुष्कळ होते. यामुळें येकटे मनुष्यासही पलीकडे जाणे कठीण पडे. असे बिगट जागेंतून अैन कूच करणेचे वेलेस गांवाकडू(न) अंग्रेजी तोफेचा गोळा अला व चहुकडून फौजेच्या संगिनी दिसू लागल्या. तेव्हां गनिमाचे फौजेनें विच्यार केला कीं आतां पळून जाण्यास तर मार्ग नाहीं. तेव्हां निकरानें लढावे असा निश्चय करून लढाअीस शुरुवात जाली. अखेर गनिमी फौजेनें कांहीं वेळ तोफखाना चालू ठेऊन नंतर घोडेस्वारानी येकदम अंग्रेजी फौजेवर धांवा करून त्यांची तोफ बंद करून हातघाअीवर तरवारीची लढाअी शुरू जाली. त्या लढाअीत बागी लोकांनी शर्थ करून जिवावर अुदार जाले होते. यामुळें गोरे लोक बहुत मारून त्यांचे ऐसी नवद घोडे छिनाऊन घेअून तोफखान्याचा येक डिविजन मैमगेजीन हास्तगत करून घेतल्यावर अंग्रेजी फौजेंत पळ सुटू(न) सर्व सिपाअी वगैरे पळून गेले. या लढाअीत गनीम लोकाचाही फार नाश होअून मनुष मेले व बाकी थोडे राहिले त्यास रियर म्हणजे मागील फौज कुमकेस आफिसर बोलाजित असतां विनाकारण सर्व फौज जिवाचे असेनें पळत सुटल्यामुळे सदरील धाव्यापो स्वार बहुतेक मेले गेले. बाकी राहिले गनिमाचे स्वार त्यास मदत न आल्यामुळें त्यांचा धीर सुटण्यास कारण अंग्रेज सरकारचे पुढील मोर्च्याचा मोड होअून तोफा वगैरे सामान बागी लोकांनी घेतले व बाकी जिवंत राहिलेले स्वार सिपाअी पळून जाऊन मागील सिपायांत मिळाले. तेथून दुर्बिनीनें गोरे लोकांनी पाहिले तो बागी लोकांकडील सिपाअी लोकांनी घोडे आपले फौजेत रवाणा करून दिल्हे होते व तोफा वगैरे सामान नेण्याचे विच्यारांत आहेत. असे पाहिल्याबरोबर दोन तोफा हर्स अरटीलरीच्या आणून येक कंपणी पलटणीची धांव करून आले. तेव्हां ते सामान तसेच बागी लोकांनी तेथे टाकून पळ

१ प्रतिपदा—८ आक्टोबर, पौर्णिमा—२३ आक्टोबर.

काहडला. तेव्हां चहूकडून अंग्रेजी फौज दिसू लागली. व बंदुखीचे व तोफेचे गोळयांचा पाऊस पडू लागला. तेव्हां ज्यास जिकडे वाट फुटली तिकडे जीव घेऊन पळू लागले. आम्ही व दाजीबा व आमचेबरोबरचा राचापा गोष्टी असे त्रिवर्ग त्या बिकट नाल्यातून पलीकडे जाऊन पोहोचत आहोत तो आमचे समोरच आंग्रेजी पलटणीचे सिपाओी खाड करीतच येत आहेत. माझे घोडयास छरे लागून खुराजवल व पुठयावर जखमी जाला होता. परत नाल्यातून येतांना हाजारो लोकाची गर्दी त्या अडचणींत जाली. राचापा त्या नाल्याचे पार पळत गेला.* आम्ही व दाजीबा माघारी आलो. तर येतांना येके मोठे दगडाचे फटीत त्याचे घोडीचा पाय अडकला तो निघेना व त्या घोडीवर पडसी असल्यामुळें त्यातच पैसे वगैरे होते. दाजीबा घोडीचे खाली अुतरून पाय काहड(ण)याचे खटपटीत लागला तो अंग्रेजी सिपाओी अगदी जवल येऊन ठेपले. तेव्हां दाजीस सांगितलें कीं घोडीची आशा सोडून निघून यावे. त्याप्रो निघून आला. तेव्हांपासून बाग्याची फौज जी पळत होती व तिचा पाठलाग आंग्रेजी फौजेनें आस्तमान होऊपरियेंत केला. आस्तमानचे वेळेपरियेंत किती लांब गेलो याचे अनुमान करतां येत नाहीं. परंतु घोर अरण्यांत गेलो. तेथील देखावा फार भयंकर होता. चहूकडे डोंगर व सर्व काटवनाची झाडी असल्यामुळें चालण्यास मार्ग बिलकुल नव्हता. अंगावरील कपडे झाडास अडकून बहुतेक फाटून गेले. रात्रीचा समय असल्यानें जिकडे पाहवे तिकडे फारच भयेंकर देखावा दिसू लागला. घोडयास दिवसभर खाण्यास मिळाले नाहीं यामुळें अगदीं थकून गेले होते. त्यांत रस्त्याचे अडचणीमुळें येखादे जागीं अुभे राहावे लागले कीं गवत खाण्यास घोडयानी खाली माना घातल्या कीं पलावयाची नौबत येऊन ठेपावी. कारण दिवसभर अन्नपाणी पोटांत नसल्याने व अति परिश्रम जाले व रात्रौही झोप नसल्यामुळें फार क्लेश जाले व वरचेवर डुकल्या येऊ लागल्या. असे संकटांत असतां येकदाचा सूर्योदय जाला. व अंग्रेजी फौजेची बातमी आणविली तर असपास जवळ कोठच फौज नाहीं. तेव्हां चहुकडून डोंगर असोन वेत्रवती[1] नदी वाहत आहे व मैदानही बरेच मोठे सपाट पाहून तेथें फौजेचा तळ पडला. ते दिवसीं तेथे मुकाम करून दुसरे दिवसीं फौजेचे कूच होऊन बुंदेलखंडातील तालबेट[2] म्हणोन गांव आहे त्या गांवी आमचे फौजेचा मुकाम जाला. त्या गांवचे नांव तालबेट पडण्यास कारण गांवाजवळ येक मोठा तलाव होता व त्या तलावाचे किनाऱ्यावर दोनचार चिरेबंदी घाट बांधले होते व त्या घाटावर महादेवाचे वगैरे देवळें लाहण लाहण बांधले होते. यामुळें चांगली शोभा दिसत होती. तलावाचे पाण्यांत सिंगाडयाचे वेल व कमळाचे फले होती असे ठिकाणी आमचा मुकाम जाला. तेव्हां फौजेत राहण्याचा अति त्रास अला होता कीं येखादे दिवसीं लढाओीत गोळी लागून आपण मेलो तर आपली खबर घरी कलण्यास मार्ग नाहीं. दुसरे खाण्यास मिलत नाहीं. तिसरे आपण जे द्रव्य मिलविले आहे, हा अितका बोज्या घेऊन घरीं सुरक्षित पोहोचण्यास मार्ग नाहीं. सोने वगैरे सस्ते माहग घेऊन बोझे थोडे हालके करावे तर ज्या गांवांत बागी लोकाची फौज जाऊन पोहोचे तो सर्व गांव अुज्याड. येकही मनुष्य गांवांत मिळावयाचा नाहीं. यामुळें सोने घेण्यास मार्ग नाहीं. व द्रव्य घरी जाणे कठीण असे पके समजले. आतां या फौजेंत राहून जीव धोक्यांत घालणें मूर्खपणा आहे. आतां याचा संग सोडावा असा आमचा त्रिवर्ग म्हणजे अिसागडकर कारकून, केशवराव कृष्ण व दाजीबा असे त्रिवर्गाचा पका निश्चय ठरला, कीं फौजेचा कूच होऊन गेला तरी आपण येथेच राहवे. त्याप्रा घोडे फौजेत सोडून आम्ही त्रिवर्ग तलावाचे कांठी येका देवळांत रात्रौ निजून राहिलो. नित्य नेमाप्रमाणें फौजेचा कूच होऊन गेल्यावर दिवसही बराच आला असतां आम्ही त्या गांवांत गेलों तर गांव अुज्याड. कोणी मनुष्य मिळाले नाहीं व तिकडील लोकाची बोलीही आम्हां अुभयतांस समजत नाहीं. केशवरावास मात्र समजत होती.

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*आतां आपणास या पुढील हकिकतीत राचापाचा पत्ता लागत नाहीं. बहुधा तो दक्षिणेंत परतला असावा.

१ बेटवा.

२ तालबेट---२५° - ३′ उत्तर व ७८° - २६′ पूर्व. हें झांशी जिल्ह्यांतील ललितपूर तहसिलांत आहे.

त्यास आम्ही विचारले कीं पुढे काय विचार ? त्याणे सांगितले कीं शिंदे सरकारची चंदरी[1] म्हणोन ठाण्याचा गांव आहे व तेथे किला आहे. त्या किल्याचे संवरक्षणास रामराव बाजी फालके सरसुभे मालवा आहेत, तेथे आपण गेलो म्हणजे तुम्ही लस्करांत सुरक्षित जाल. आम्ही त्यास सांगितले कीं आठ च्यार दिवस जवळपास येखादे खेडयांत राहूं. कारण बागी लोक जवल आहेत. त्यांचे असपास अंग्रेजी फौजेच्या टोळचा फिरत असतील. त्यापैकीं येखादे टोलीची गांठ पडली तर अडचण पडणार आहे. केशवरावांनी सांगितले आज अस्तमानपरियेंत अगर अदअिक थोडा दिवस आला नाही तो आपण चंदेरीस पोहोचू. आतां तुम्ही जी शेका अंग्रेजी फौजेची गांठ पडण्याची काहाडली ती यथार्थ आहे. याकरितां आपण अडरस्त्यानें गेलो म्हणजे जाले. असे समाधान केल्यावर आम्ही तिसरा प्रहरपो मार्गक्रमणा करून येका गांवांत गेलो. तेथील लोकांनी चौकसी करून त्या गांवचा अधिकारी येक ठाकूर भला मनुष्य होता त्याजकडे नेले. त्याणे विचारिल्यावरून त्यास केशवरावजीनी सांगितले कीं आम्ही त्रिवर्ग अिसागडास गोविंदराव नारायण सुभेसो यांचे कचेरींत नोकर होतो. बागी लोकांनी अिसागड ताडून बिजन केले. परंतु अम्ही दक्षणी ब्राम्हण असल्यामुळें आम्हांस जिवे न मारतां कैद करून चालविले होते. मौजे खजुरी या येथें अंग्रेज सरकारची व बागी लोकाची लढाअी जाली. त्यांत बागी लोकाची फार खराबी जाली. त्या धांदलींत शिपायाचे कैदेतून सुटू(न) अम्ही अिकडे आलो. त्या ठाकुराने पुन्हा केशवरावास विच्यारिलें कीं आतां कोणीकडे तुम्हांस जावयाचे. केशवरावानी सांगितले कीं चंदेरीस रामराव बाजी सरसुभेसा आहेत, त्याजकडे गेलो म्हणजे ते आम्हांस बंदोबस्तानें लस्करांत रवाणा करून देतील, असे सांगितल्यावर त्या ठाकुरास प्रमाण वाटले व त्याणे आम्हांस खाण्याचे विच्यारिले कीं आम्हीं तुमचेकरितां ब्राम्हणाचे येथें रसोअी करवितो. केशवरावांनी त्यास सांगितले कीं अिकडील ब्राम्हणाचे हातचे आम्ही खात नाहीं. त्याजवरून त्याणे त्रिवर्गास दोन सेर आटा वगैरे देऊन येक कुवा दाखऊन दिल्हा. तेथें आम्ही स्नानें करून स्वयंपाक भोजन जाल्यावर पुन्हा ठाकुराकडे गेलो. त्याणे आपला मनुष्य देअून तदेसी ब्राम्हणाचे येथें आम्हांस निजावयास पाठविले. त्या ब्राम्हणानें आम्हांस अथरावयास वगैरे देअून देवढीत निजावयाचे सांगितले. आम्ही त्रिवर्ग तेथे निजलो असता असा विच्यार जाला कीं दोन च्यार दिवस येथेंच राहवे, बागी लोक अमळ दूर गेले म्हणजे आपण चंदेरीस जाअू, असे ठरल्यावर परिश्रम जाले असल्यामुळे व ते दिवसी पोटभर अन्न खावयास मिळाल्यामुळें सुस्ती येअून बराच दिवस येऊपावेतों त्रिवर्गासही निद्रा लागल्या. नंतर अुठून शौच्य मुखमार्जन कर्णेचे अिरादाने आम्ही बाहेर गेलो. दाजीबा व केशवराव असे दोघे येकीकडे गेले व मी येकटाच येकीकडे गेलो. शौच्या जाल्यावर त्या दोघाचा विच्यार जाला कीं येथून जवलच चंदेरी आहे, अज तेथें पोहोचू, दोन तीन दिवस येथे व्यर्थ राहण्यात असे फुकट दिवस घालऊ नये, याप्रो ठरल्यावर व मुखमार्जन जाल्यावर त्या अुभैतांनी सदरील विच्यार मजला सांगितला. त्यांत प्रथम मी मोडा घातला, परंतु दैवांत जे सुखदुःख भोगणें आहे ते भोगल्यासिवाय चुकत नाहीं. या न्यायाप्रो आम्हीं सरासरी आठ वाजण्याचे सुमारास ज्या वाडयांत रात्रौ राहिलो होतो त्या मालकास विच्यारून मार्गास लागलो. केशवरावांनी नेम ठरविल्याप्रो अड रस्त्यानें दोन कोस गेलो असोन चहूंकडून झाडी व मधून बरीक रस्ता होता. त्याने आम्हीं चालतो असतां मागाहून दोन हत्यारबंद मनुष्य धांवत अले, व त्यांणी आम्हांस आटापले. जवल येतांच ते आम्हांस म्हणाले कीं तुम चौकी छचोडके अडरस्तेसे भाग जाते हो। खडे रहो। तुम डाकू हो। असे शब्द अैकिल्याबरोबर आम्ही अुभे राहिलो. ते जवल आल्यावर त्यांणी तलवारी अुपसून आम्हांस सांगितले कीं तुमचेपासीं जे कांहीं आहे ते द्या, नाहींतर आम्ही तुम्हांस ठार

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१ चंदेरी २४° ४३′ उत्तर ७८° ९′ पूर्व आग्रयाच्या दक्षिणेस १७० मैल सर ह्यू रोज यानें १८५८ त सेंट पॅट्रिक डे या दिवशीं काबीज केली.

इंग्रजांनीं चंदेरी किल्ल्यास वेढा घालून तो किल्ला १७ मार्च १८५८ ला सर केला. किल्ल्याचा घेर चार मैलांचा होता. पुन्हां किल्ल्यांत बंडवाल्यांनीं आश्रय घेऊं नये म्हणून इंग्रजांनीं या किल्ल्याचा तट व बुरुज पाडले. आणि किल्ल्याची राखण करण्यासाठीं-शिंदे सरकारची इसागड्कडील एक सैनिक तुकडी इसागडवर पुन्हां बंडवाल्यांचा मोड होईपर्यंत ठेविली.

Recollection of the campaign in Malwa and Central India by Sylvester, p. 83.

मारू, असे बोलून त्यांणी आमचे धोतरे फेडिले. तो कमरेस असलेले कसे त्यांचे द्रिष्टीस पडले. ते सर्वांचे घेऊन अंगावरील सर्व पांघुरणें व जवल असलेला येक येक तांब्या तोही घेतला, अुघडे बोडके करून जाण्यास सांगितले. तेव्हां केशवरावांनी त्यास सांगितले कीं आम्हांस नेसावयास कांहीं द्या. त्याजवरून आमचेपो येक जुनें धोतर दहा हाती त्रिवर्गास दिल्हे. त्याचे तीन टुकडे करून त्रिवर्गानी परिधान केले. जाते समई त्या डाकूनें आम्हांस थमकी दिल्ही कीं पीछे आवोगे तो मारही डालिगे। और ये बात की दाद फिर्याद कही करना नहीं। सीधे रस्तेसे चले ज्याव। त्या प्रा त्यास बरे म्हणोन आम्ही पुढे वाट चालू लागलो. कोस सव्वा कोस गेलो, तर येक गांव लागले, वाटेनें आमचा असा विच्यार ठरला कीं जे जाले ते बरे जाले. आता हीं गोष्ट कोणास सांगून अुपयोग व्हावयाचा नाहीं. करितां चंदेरीस मुकाट्यानें चलावे. गांवाजवल जाअन पोहोचलो तेव्हां तेथील येका मनुष्यास केशवरावानें विच्यारिले ठाणें[1] कोठे आहे? त्यानें सांगितले कीं येथून जवलच आहे. तेथे गेल्यावर केशवरावानी लुटण्याची हकीकत तेथील अधिकाऱ्यास सांगितल्यावर त्याणें च्यार सिपाअी आमचे बरोबर देअून त्या सिपायांस असा हुा केला कीं हे ज्या ठिकाणीं लुटलें गेले ती जागा पाहून ज्या गांवचे मेडचात म्हणजे सिवेंत यांची लूट जाली त्या गांवचे पाटील पटवारी याजकडे नेअून चोरीचा पता लावणें. न लाऊन दिल्हचास तुमचे हाकांत चांगले होणार नाहीं. असें सांगितल्यावर त्या सिपायांनी लूट ज्या जागेवर झाली होती, ते ठिकाण पाहून आम्हीं ज्या गांवांत रात्री मुकाम केला होता व ज्या ठाकुरानें आम्हांस आटा दाल दिल्ही होती त्याजकडे नेअून त्यास हुा झाला होता, त्याप्रमाणें ठाकुरास सांगितल्यावर ठाकुरानें सिपायास सांगितले यांस आमचे सुपूर्द करून जा. दोन तीन दिवसांत आम्हीं यांचे चोरीचा पता लाऊन देतो. त्याचे म्हणण्याप्रो सिपायानी आम्हां त्रिवर्गास ठाकुराचे हवाली करुन ते निघून गेले. ठाकुरानें आम्हांस निरमनुष्य असे येका मोठ्या वाड्यांत नेअून कोंडले व दार बंद करून तो म्हणाला कीं तुम्ही ब्राम्हण गरीब समजून तुमची बरदास्त केली त्याचा अुपकार आम्हांवर बरीच आग पाखडली. असो. चिंता नाहीं. अितकेच बोलून तो गेला. दोन दिवस आमची कोणीच खबर घेतली नाहीं. अन्नपाण्यावाचून आमची काय दशा जाली असेल ते परमेश्वरासच माहीत. त्या दोन दिवसांत केशवराव यांस आम्ही अुभैतांनी किती फजित केले तरी अुपयोग काय? प्रारब्धावर भरोसा ठेऊन राहिलो. तिसरे दिवसी पुन्हां च्यार सिपाअी व तो ठाकुर येअून वाड्याचे दार अुघडून आम्हांस बाहेर काहडले व आमचे समक्ष त्या ठाकुरास त्यांनी विच्यारिले कीं यांचे चोरीचा पता लागला किंवा नाहीं? ठाकुरानें सांगितले की लागला नाहीं. मग त्या सिपायांनी आम्हांस सांगितले कीं चलो हमारे साथ, त्याजबरोबर आम्ही चालत असतां त्यास विच्यारिले कीं आम्हांस कोणीकडे नेता? त्याणी सांगितले कीं दरोगेसो व फौजेवरील मुख्य मकलीनसो व कांहीं फौज वेत्रवतीचे किनाऱ्यावर आहे, त्याजकडे नेतो, असे अैकिल्यावर आमची पाचावर धारण बसून फार चिंता लागली व केशवराव येमदूताप्रो आम्हांस भासू लागून त्याची निर्भिछिना बहुत केली. दोन प्रहरपरियेंत वाट चालतांनी सिपाअी व आम्ही येका झाडाचे सावलीत विश्रांतीकरितां बसलो. तेव्हां माझे मनांत येक विच्यार येअून त्या चार सिपायापैा येक पोक्त होता, त्यास हात जोडून बहुत मिनतमारी केली कीं आम्हास सोडून द्याल तर मोठा अुपकार होओल. कारण आम्ही परदेसी असोन आमचे ह्या देशांत कोणी नाहीं. आम्हांस लुटल्याबदल आतां यापुढें कोठेहि जिकर करणार नाहीं. त्याजवरून त्या सिपायांस आमची दया येअून आपसांत ते म्हणू लागले कीं आपण जर यांस दरोगेसोकडे नेले तर ते कदाचित मकलीनसोकडे नेअून यांस गुजरतील. मग यांस फांसीची सिक्षा होओल. कारण हली लस्करी कायेदा चालू असोन त्या साहेबास दया म्हणोन अगदी नाहीं. आपण दररोज पाहतो कीं जो मनुष्य त्याजकडे नेला कीं त्यास वाटते कीं हा बागीपो आहे. त्यास विच्यारपूस न करितां फांसीचा हुा होतो. यास्तव जाअू देणे मजला बरे वाटते, असे त्या पोक्त मनुष्यानें बाकीचे तीन सिपायांस विच्यारल्यावर सर्वांचा रुकार जाण्याविसी पडून आम्हांस त्यानी परवानगी दिल्ही. आम्ही जाअू लागलो. परंतु कर्मांत जे दुःख भोगणे होते, त्या कर्मानें केशवरावाचे मनास प्रेरणा दिल्ही ती असी कीं जातेसमई केशवरावांनी सर्वांचे नांवे

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१ गांवच्या शिवेंत झालेल्या चोरीचा पत्ता लावण्याची कामगिरी पाटील जागल्यावर सोंपवीत असे. आत्रे, गांवगाडा (१९५९) पृ. ४०.

विच्यारिले. त्या सिपायांनी आपआपले नांवे सांगितल्यावर केशवरावास सिपायांनी विच्यारिले कीं आमचे नांवे काय म्हणोन विच्यारिले ? त्याचे अुतर दिल्हे कीं आम्ही चंदेरीस जाअून रामराव बाजी सर सुभेसा यांस जालेली हकीकत सांगून अमुक सिपायांनी आम्हांस सोडून दिल्हे असे सांगण्याकरितां तुमचे नांवे विच्यारिले. हे अैकून सिपाअी म्हणाले कीं आम्ही तुमच्यावर अुपकार केला व तुम्ही कीव काकुलत केली म्हणोन व तुमची दया अली म्हणोन जाण्याविसी परवानगी दिल्ही. आपले अफिसरास सदरीलि सांगितल्यावर आमचे वरिष्ठाकडे लिहून आल्यावर आमची नौकरी जाअून आमचेवर खटले होतील, कीं तुम्ही आम्हांस न विच्यारितां परभारे कसे सोडून अितके बोलून ते आम्हांस जाअू देअीनात. मग केशवरावाची व आमची बहुत बाचाबाची जाली व त्या सिपायांस पुष्कल शेफता वाहून सांगितले परंतु त्यास आमचे बोलण्याचा विश्वास अगदी अला नाहीं. अखेर लाच्यार होअून त्याजबरोबर जाणें भाग अले. आम्हीं मार्गांत चालतांना केशवराव यांस विच्यारिले पुढे साहेबाकडे काय जाब द्यावयाचा त्याजबदल तरी पोक्त विच्यार करून त्रिवर्गाचा येक जबाब जाला पाहिजे. नाहींतर त्यांत चलबिचल जाल्यावर मग मात्र कठीण होअील. त्याजवरून केशवराव यांणी आम्हां अुभैतास असे सांगितले सर्वांनी असा जबाब द्यावा कीं आम्ही अिसागडास सुभे कचेरीत नोकर होतो. तेथें बागी लोक यअून लढाअी जाली व सर्व शहराचे त्यांनी बिजन केले व आम्ही छिपून राहिलो होतो. दुसरे दिवसीं त्याणी आम्हांस पाहिल्यावरून आपले फौजेत नेले, तेथें आम्हीं कैदेतच होतो. अंग्रेजी फौजेचा व बागी लोकाचा खजुरी या मुकामी सामना जाल्यात गनिमाची फार खराबी जाली. जिकडे वाट फुटली तिकडे ते सर्व पळून गेल्यामुळें आमची सूट जाली. तो हली हे आमचे बरोबर बरकंदाज आहेत याणी धरून आपलेपासीं आणिले असे सांगावे म्हणजे आपली सुटका होअील अगर ते सिपाअी बरोबर देअून आपल्यास लस्करांत रा करतील असें सर्वत्रानीं सांगावे असा संकेत ठरला. नंतर त्या सिपाअी लोकांनी जेथें दरोग्याची छोलदारी लागली होती तेथे सिपाअी आम्हांस येअून जाअून त्याणें वर्दी दिल्ही. तेव्हां तो दरोगा लागलीच अुठून मकलीन साहेबाकडे जाअून साहेबास सांगितलें कीं तीन बागी लोक धरून आणिले आहेत. साहेबांनी हुा दिल्हा कीं त्याजला फासी चढवावे. तेव्हां दरोगा आपले डेन्यांत येअून ज्या सिपायांनी आम्हांस आणिले त्या पो येका सिपायास दरोग्यानें सांगितले कीं फांसी लगानेवालोको बुला लाव। त्याप्रो सिपाअी जाऊन बोलाऊन आणिले. तेव्हां दरोग्यानें त्यांस सांगितले कीं ये तीन आदमीकू फांसी चढानेका हुा साहेबने दिया है अिनको ले ज्याव। तेव्हां आम्हांस किती दुःख जाले असेल ते सर्वोतमास माहीत. सिपाअी आम्हांस म्हणू लागला कीं चलो. तेव्हां दाजिबा, मी असे दोघेजनांनी केशवराव यास फार फजित केले, परंतु अुपयोग काय ? तेव्हां केशवरावास अतिशय राग येअून त्या दरोग्यास म्हणाला कीं आम्हीं बागी नाहींत. बाग्यांनी अिसागडाहून धरून आणिले. आम्ही सिंदे सरकारचे नोकर आहोत. तुम्ही आम्हांस विनाकारण फासी द्याल तर आमचे वारस साहेबास विच्यारतील तुम्ही चौकसी न करितां फासीचा हुा देतां याचा परिणाम फार वाअीट होअील वगैरे बरेच कड(क) भाषण केल्यावर दरोग्यानें सांगितलें कीं हाम कुछ नही ज्यानते। हम तो हुकुमे ताबेदार है। त्यावर सर्वत्रांस अति दुःख होअून येकदम रडे कोसळले व परमेश्वराचा धावा करितां करितां केशवरावानी दरोग्यास सांगितले कीं येक वेल साहेबाचे समोर तर आम्हांस न्या, मग जे होणे असेल तसे होअील, असे बोलल्यावर त्या निर्दयास कांहीं दया येअून लागलीच तो साहेब(कडे) गेला व आमचा हेतु त्याणें साहेबांस सांगितला. ते अैकून साहेबाने विच्यार करून दरोग्यास सांगितले कीं तीन वाजतां त्या लोकांस आमचेपुढे हजर करा. तेव्हां परत आपले डेन्यांत येअून सिपायांस सांगितले कीं इनकू हिफाजतसे रखो। तीन बजे साहेबके तंबूपर अिनकू ले ज्यानेका है। असे सांगून तो दुसरे कामास लागला. तीन वाजण्याचे सुमारास दरोगे यांणी साहेबाकडील खबर मागऊन आम्हांस तिकडे नेले. जाते वेलेस केशवरावास आम्ही अुभैतांनी विच्यारिलें कीं संकेत ठरल्याप्रोच जबानी द्यावयाची किंवा नाहीं. तेव्हां त्याणे सांगितले कीं त्याचप्रो बोलावे. दरोग्याने नेअून साहेबाचे तंबूसमोर आम्हांस बसऊन साहेबांस जाअून सांगितले कीं वो बागी लोक हजर है। साहेबानी दरोग्यास सांगितले कीं यक यक आदमीको हामारे सामने ल्याव। त्याजवरून दरोग्यानें तीनापो येक जनें आव असे सांगितल्यावरून प्रथम केशवरावास आम्हीं अुभैतांनी जाण्यास सांगितले. त्याप्रो केशवराव प्रथम जबानी देण्यास गेला, तेव्हां संकेत ठरल्याप्रो केशवरावांनी जबानी दिल्ही. मी सिंदे

सरकारचा नोकर असोन असिागड सुभायतीत नोकर होतो. बागी तेथे येअून बहुत खराबी केली. बागी लोकाची फौज किती आहे वगैरे साहेबाचे प्रश्नाचे अुतरें त्याणीं दिल्हयावर अखेर साहेबांनी विच्यारिलें कीं ये दोन आदमी कौन हैं। केशवरावांनी सांगितले कीं हे दक्षणेकडून आलेले आहेत. यांची आमची बाग्याचें फौजेंत गांठ पडली. बाकी हे कोठील राहणार वगैरे मजला माहीत नाहीं. त्याची जबानी पुरी जाल्यावर दुसऱ्यास बोलाऊन केशवरावास येकीकडे बसण्यास सांगितले. तेव्हां केशवराव जबानी देअून आमचे समोरून जेव्हां जाअू लागला, तेव्हां त्यानें आमचेकडे न पाहतां खाली मान घालून दुसरेकडे जाअून बसला. दुसरे वेळेस दाजि जा म्हणून मी सांगितले. तेव्हां दाजी तिकडे जबानी देण्यास गेल्यावर माझे मनांत अनेक कल्पना येअू लागल्या कीं केशवरावानें संकेताप्रो जबानी दिल्ही नसावी. कारण दिल्ही असती तर आपलेकडे पाहून प्रसन्नतेनें तो दुसरेकडे जाअून बसला असता. तेव्हां ज्या अर्थी त्याणे आपल्यासी रुख मिळविला नाहीं, त्या अर्थी नेमाप्रमाणें त्याणें जबानी दिल्ही नसावी. कारण मागील दोन तीन वेळ त्याणें नेम ठरवावा येक व भलतेच करावे. त्यामुळे हा घोर प्रसंग आपल्यावर आला आहे, आतां आपण काय जबानी द्यावी या चिंतेंत परमेश्वराचा धावा करून सर्वोतमास मी विनंति केली कीं बुधीदाता तू आहेस व तुजवाचून या संकटांतून मुक्त करणारा दुसरा कोणी नाही. असे अनेक विच्यार मनांत येअून येकदम असे वाटे कीं हली सर्व लस्करी कायदा चालू असोन साहेब फार क्रूर आहे. हे त्या सिपायाचे भाषण अैकिलेच यामुळे असे वाटे कीं त्रिवर्गाचा येक जबाब न जाल्यामुळें साहेबास खास वाटेल कीं हे बागी आहेत तेव्हां येकदम फासीचा हुा सुटेल, अर्थात् आपली शंभर वष भरली. तेव्हा अतिशय दुःख वाटे कीं ही खबर आपले घरीं कळणार सुाा नाहीं तेव्हां आपले कर्मांतर न जाले तर अधोगतीस पिशाश्च व्हावे लागेल कीं काय, कुटुंबास ऋतु प्राप्त होअून साह महिने जाले तीस ही मनांतील गोष्ट सांगून मी अिकडे आलो नाहीं, ती आपले आओस येकुलती येक आहे, माझा शोध बहुत दिवस न लागल्यास तीस व तिचे आओबापास व माझे आओबाप वगैरे गोतास किती दुःखाचा डोंगर कोसळेल, येकंदरीत मी जन्मास येअून कांहीं सार्थक न होता अुलट सर्वत्र आप्त वर्गास दुःखसमुद्रांत लोटण्यास निर्माण जालो असे अनेक विच्यार अंतःकरणांत चालले आहेत तों दरोग्यानें मजला पुकारले तेव्हां परमेश्वराचे चिंतन करीत चाललो असतां दाजिबाही तिकडून आला, त्याचें तोंड अगदीं अुतरले होते, परंतु तो सारखा माझे मुखाकडेसच पाहत आला, त्याजवरून मी अनुमान केले कीं केशवरावानें सांगितल्याप्रो याणे जबानी दिल्ही असावी. आतां आपण काय सांगावे मग मनांत निश्चय जाला कीं खरी हाकीकत सांगावी मग जे होणें असेल ते होओल, सोनी प्रथम शफत देऊन पुसण्यास आरंभ केला, नांव व राहण्याचा ठिकाणा तालुका जिल्हा वगैरे विच्यारून नंतर विच्यारिलें कीं बागी लोकाचे फौजेत कसा गेलास त्यास सांगितले कीं आमचे आजा आजी लस्कर मुाा आहेत, त्यांचा वृधापकाळ जाला. त्यास भेटण्याचे अिराद्यानें जात होतो, मार्गांत पाथर्डीचे दफ्तरदार पांडोबा तात्या, दिनकररावजी दिवाण सिंदे सरकारचे त्यांचे हे आप्त होते, त्याणी दिवाणसाहेबाचे नांवे पत्र दिल्हे होते, ते मी घेअून लस्कराचे सडकेनें लस्कराकडे जात होतो, पचोरब्यावऱ्याचे सडकेनें आम्ही चाललों असतां आठ नअू वाजण्याचे सुमारास पश्चमेकडून कांहीं बरेच अंतरावर तोफेचे आवाज अैकू येअू लागले, तेव्हां आम्ही फार घाबरून लौकर लौकर चालू लागलो, तो थोडे अवकाशांत ज्या सडकेनें आम्ही चाललो होतो, त्याच सडकेवर हाजारो फौज घोडेस्वार व तोफखाना आणि पलटणचे लोक आले, त्यांत आम्ही मिसळून गेलो, कांहीं लोक गेल्यावर घोड्यावर बसलेला येक आफिसर अला, त्यांणी आम्हास पाहून व आमचा दक्षणी पोषाख पाहून त्यास समजलें कीं हे आपल्या फौजेपो नाहीं तेव्हां आम्हांस विच्यारिले कीं तुम गोरंदे हो आम्ही त्यास जबाब दिल्हा कीं हो आम्ही गोरंदे आहोत, हे बोलणें अैकिल्यावर साहेबास हसू आले व साहेबांनी मजला विच्यारिले कीं गुरंदे किसकू केहते त्याचे अुतर मी साहेबा(स) केले कीं तुमची बोली मजला समजत नाही. साहेबाचा सिरस्तेदार गोपालराव कऱ्हाडे ब्राम्हण होता, त्यानें मजला सांगितले कीं साहेब विच्यारताल कीं गोरंदे कोणास म्हणावे, मी सिरस्तेदारास अुतर दिल्हे कीं मी असे समजलो कीं त्या आफिसरांने मजला विच्यारले कीं तुम गोरंदे मी म्हणालो हो कारण मी असे समजलो होतो कीं ब्राम्हणास या देशांत गोरंदे म्हणतात. हे बोलणें अैकून साहेब व सिरस्तेदार फार हंसले व पुढें विच्यारू लागले कीं मग काय जाले, तेव्हां मी सांगितले कीं त्या फौजेपो जो आफिसर आम्हांस विच्यारीत होता, त्यास गोरंदे आहो म्हणोन

सांगितल्यावर त्यास फार राग आला व त्यानें पलटणचौ च्यार सिपाअी व येक हुदेदार बोलाऊन त्यास हुा दिल्हा कीं याचे दंड काहडण्यानी बांधून बरोबर घेअून चलावे, मुकामावर गेल्यावर चौकसी पाहू, आम्ही त्यास विच्यारिले कीं आमचेकडून काय गुन्हा जाला म्हणोन असा हुा दिल्हा. विनाकारण रस्तागिरास त्रास देणें वाजवी नाहीं. वगैरे बहुत बोललो परंतु त्याणें आमचे बोलण्याकडे दुर्लक्ष केल्यामुळें सिपायांनी हुाप्रो आम्हांस बरोबर घेअून गेले. मुकाम जाल्यावर त्या सिपायांनी त्या अफिसरासमोर आम्हांस अुभे केल्यावरून त्याणे सिपाअास सांगितले कीं अिनका झाडा लेव, त्याजवरून आमचा झाडा घेतल्यात दिनकरराव दिवाणचे नांवचे पत्र निघाले, ते पत्र सिपायांनी त्या अफिसरापासी दिल्हें, त्याचेजवल कारकून होताच, त्याने दिनकररावाचे पत्र आहे म्हणोन त्या अफिसरास सांगितल्यावर त्याचा क्रोध अधिकच होअून दिनकरराव दोन च्यार सिव्या देऊन म्हणाला ब्राम्हण होके अंग्रेज बन गया, अिसके बोलून त्या सिपायांस त्या अफिसराने हुा दिल्हा कीं रातके वक्त अिनके बिडे भरके रखते ज्याव व कचके वक्त दंडोकू रसी बांधके साथ ले चलते जाव, अितका हुा देअून तो निघोन गेला, सिपायानें त्याप्रा दररोज क्रम ठेविला, पुढे बागी लोक अिसागडास जाअून तेथे त्याची फते जाली. तेव्हां कांहीं मारले, कांहीं कैद करून आणिले, त्यापो केशवरावाची व आमची भेट जाली. आम्ही कैदीच होतो, फौजेबरोबर फिरतां फिरतां फिरता अंग्रेज बाहदुराच्या व बागी लोकाच्या वीस लढाया जाल्या. येकविसावी लढाअी खजुरी या मुकामी जाली. त्यांत बागी लोकाची फार नुकसानी होअून येकच गर्दी जाली. त्यांत आम्ही सुटलो, तर या बरकंदाज सिपायांनी बागी म्हणोन आम्हास आपलेकडे पकडून आणिले, ही हकी(क)त साहेबांनी अैकून घेअून केशवरावाची व दाजिबाची जबानी मजला सिरस्तेदारांनी वाचून दाखविल्यावर समजले, असो. साहेबांनी मजला विच्यारिले कीं खरी हकीकत कोणाची समजावी ? मी सांगितले कीं माझी हाकीकत जी खरी होती ती साहेबांस सांगितली. माझी जबानीचे वेलेस साहेबाची मुद्रा प्रसन्न होती. अीश्वरकृपेनें साहेबाचे मनांत आमचेविषई दया अुत्पन्न होअून सिरस्तेदारांस हुा केला कीं दरबारांत खत लिखके अिनका च्यालान ग्वाल्हेर लस्करकू कर देव, व्हांपर चौकसी होके जो कुछ होने सो होयेगा। परंतु आमचे नष्टच्यर्य भोगणें बाकी राहिले होते. सबब गोपालराव सिरस्तेदार याने साहेबास सांगितले कीं सिंदे सरकारके तर्फ खत भेज देता हूं। अुसका जबाब आवे तक अिनकू झासीके जेहलखाने च्यालान कर देता हूं। ती गोष्ट साहेबानी बरे म्हणोन सांगितल्यावर आमचे त्रिवर्गाचे च्यालान झासीचे तुरंगांत केले. जवल वस्त्र किंवा पात्र कांहीं येक नसून फक्त ढुगास तीन तीन हाताचे चिरगुटे गुंडाळ(ले)ली होतीं, दिवस थंडीचा, किती त्रास होत असेल तो सर्वोत्तम जाणत असेल, असो. आम्हांस सिपायांनी तुरंगाचे अधिकारी दरोग्याकडे नेअून पोहोचविलें व पावती घेअून ते मार्गस्थ जाले.

त्या तुरंगांत पोहोचल्यावर असें दिसले कीं तीन च्यारसे कैदी सर्व जातीचे असोन त्यापो कांहींस सिक्षा जाल्या होत्या, त्यांच्या पायांत बेडचा होत्या व कांहीं कैदी हावालातवाले म्हणजे चौकसी होण्याचे होते, ते खुले, पायांत बेडचा वगैरे नव्हत्या. आम्ही तेथे बसलो असतां अठ साडे अठ वाजतां तेथे वाणी आटा, दाल घेऊन अल्यावर दरोग्यानें नांवे पुकारावी व वाण्यानें दर असिमास अछेर वजनी आटा गव्हाचा व अतपाव दाल आणि अधेलाभार मीठ, पांच कंडे द्यावे, त्याप्रो आम्हां त्रिवर्गासही सामान मिळाले, ते घेऊन स्वयपाक कर्ण्याचे अिरादानें आम्ही कुव्यावर जाअू लागलो तर सिपायानें सांगितले कीं कैद्यास कुव्यावर जाण्याचा हुा नाहीं, तुम्हांस पाणी लागेल ते ढीमर देईल. सिपायांस आम्ही सांगितले कीं ढिमराचे पाणी घेणार नाहीं. आम्ही दक्षणी ब्राम्हण आहोत, त्याजवरून सिपायानें सदरहू हाकीकत दरोग्यास सांगितले, कीं अज तीन कैदी नवीन आले ते ढिमराचे पाणी घेत नाहींत ते म्हणतात कीं आम्ही मरून जाअू, परंतु अन्य जातीचे हातचे पाणी पिणार नाहीं. त्याजवरून दरोग्यानें सिपायांस सांगितले कीं येक कैदी दखनी ब्राम्हण आहे त्याचे हातचे पाणी तुम्ही घ्याल किंवा नाहीं ? तो निरोप कलल्यावर त्या ब्राम्हणाचे नांव, गांव विच्यारल्यावरून त्याणें सांगितलें कीं माझे नांव आपा, जात कोंकणस्थ ब्राम्हण आहे, तेव्हां याचा आपला अन्न व्यवहार होण्यास हरकत नाहीं याचे हातचे पाणी आम्ही घेअू म्हणोन सिपायांस सांगितले, त्या दिवसीं पाणी त्याणी आम्हांस देअून आमचे भोजन जाले. दुसरे दिवसापासून चौघांचाही स्वयंपाक येकत्र होअू लागला. कारण,

आमचेपासीं भांडे पात्र कांहीं नसोन आपापासीं मात्र दोन पितळच्या येक तपेले व येक बोहोगुणें दोन तांबे अितके होते, त्यामुळें कसातरी गुजारा करून घेत होतो. रोज स्वयंपाक कर्ण्याची पाळी येकाची यावी. त्याणे आपल्यापुरत्या रोटया जाड करून खाली ठेवाव्या व दोन सेर अटयाच्या रोटया चौघांचे वाटयास बरोबर येतील अशा बेतानें कराव्या, स्वयंपाक करणारावर तिघांची नजर सारखी राहत असोन मनांत फार राग येत असे, कीं आपलेकरितां कशा जाड रोटया करितो, परंतु बोलून दाखवायाचे नाहीं. भोजन करून अुठल्यावर जेवलो नाहीं असेच वाटून जठरानल क्षुधा शांत न जाल्यामुळें जीव फार तळमळ करीत होता. ते दुःख ज्यास या गोष्टीचा अनुभव असेल त्यासच माहीत प्रत्यक दिवसीं मग असे वाटत होते कीं फासीचा ह्या जाला होता हे फार चांगले होते. कारण अंतकाळापेक्षां माध्यानकाळ फार वाअीट असतो, ती वडिलाची म्हण प्रत्यक्ष अनुभवास जेव्हां अली तेव्हां खरे वाटले. यक तर पोटाचे दुःख, दुसरे थंडीचा ताप, तिसरे लघुशंकेचा त्रास यामुळें जीविताला अगदी कांटाळून जाअून नकोसे जाले होते. बरे पाण्यानें पोट भरावे तर लघवी लागणार. ती कर्ण्यास कमरे अितक्याला नादी रऊन ठेविल्या होत्या, त्यांत अुभ्यानें लघवी करावी लागत असे. त्या नादीत अठरापगड जातीनें लघवी करावी त्याचे सितोडे अंगावर येऊन विटाळ होओील म्हणोन पाण्यानें पोट भरण्यासही मार्ग नव्हता. रात्रभर कोठडीत कोंडावे प्राथःकालीं पांच वाजण्याचे सुमारास सर्व कैदी बाहेर मैदानांत बसऊन दरोगे अल्यावर हाजरी व्हावी. नंतर झाडा जंगल कर्णेकरितां सिपायांनी बाहेर नेअून तुरंगाचे जवल लक्ष्मी तलाव होता. तेथे जवळ जवळ सर्व कैद्यांस सिपायांनी बसऊन चहुफेर सिपायांनी अुभे राहवे, येखाद्यास अुसीर लागला तर सिपायांनी सिव्या देअून जलदी अुठण्याबदल सक्त ताकीद द्यावी. शौच्यविधी अटोपल्यावर त्या तळयाचें पाण्यांतच गारठा असतांही स्नान करून तसेच वोलेत्यानें येअून तुरंगाचे मैदानांत अुघडे बसावे, तो वाणी आला म्हणजे आटा दाल घेऊन स्वयंपाक करून भोजन करावे, भोजन जाले तरी जठराग्नी अधिकच प्रदीप्त व्हावा. त्या दुःखामुळें येके यक दिवस वर्षासारखा भासू लागून जीवित्व नकोसे वाटे. रात्रंदिवस परमात्माचा धांवा करीत होतो कीं या दुःखातून सोडव, तरी सुटका होण्याचा मार्ग कांहींच दिसेना. आठा दिवसांनी गोरा डाकतर किंवा कोण येक साहेब येत होता तो कैदीच्या तपासणी करीत असे. त्यावेलेस येखादे कैद्यानी साहेबांस विनंती केली कीं हामारे च्यालान अमुक जगे होणे के अबीतक होता नहीं। हमकू बड(त) तकलीफ होती. असे कोणी सांगितले कीं रात्रौ कैदीची गणती कर्ण्यास तुरंगावरील दरोगा आला म्हणजे त्याणें अर्ज करणारास मारावे. असे जाले तेव्हां कोणीच अर्ज करीनासा जाला. तेव्हां त्या कैद्यापो येक कैदी दरोग्याचे प्रेमातील होता. त्यास आम्ही सांगितले कीं आमचे च्यालाण दरोगे सो कडून जलदी करून द्यावे. त्याणें आम्हांस सांगितले कीं तुमचेपासीं कांहीं पैसे असल्यास द्यावे, म्हणजे तुमचे च्यालान लस्करांत लौकर करून देतील. आमचे जवळ नगदी पैसा येकही नव्हता, परंतु मागे लिहिलेल्या दोन रकमा म्हणजे कानांतील दोन मोत्याची भिगवाळी व हातांतील तांबडे खडयाची सोन्याची अंगठी होती. ती आम्ही त्या ठाकुराचे गावांतून निघतेवेळीं येका बारीक चिंधींत बांधून मी आपले सेंडीचे मध्यभागीं बांधली होती. सेंडी मोठी व केश फार लांब असल्यामुळें ती कोणासही दिसत नव्हती. म्हणोन त्या दोन चोरांनी आम्हांस नागविले परंतु त्याचे दृष्टीस पडलें नाहीं. म्हणोन त्या रकमा माझे जवल राहिल्या होत्या. त्या सिपायास म्हणजे कैद्यास सांगितले कीं येव्हडया दोन जिनसा मजपासी आहेत, ह्या दरोगे साहेबांस देअून आमची सुटका लौकर करून द्यावी. असे म्हणून त्या जिनसा त्या कैद्याचे हावाली केल्या. तरी आमची सुटका लौकर होतां दिसेना. दररोज त्या कैद्यास मी म्हणावे कीं अतां किती दिवसांत आमची रवाणगी लस्करांत होओील? त्याणें सांगावे कीं लौकर होओील. असे करतां करतां दीड महिना आम्ही त्रिवर्ग झांसीचे तुरंगांत अति क्लेश सोसून होतो. नंतर येकदाचा ह्या आमचे च्यालान लस्करांत कर्णेविषई आला. तेव्हां आम्ही त्रिवर्ग व आणखी कांहीं रांगडे कैदी असे लस्करांत च्यार सिपाई आमचे बरोबर देअून प्राथःकालीं रवाणा केले. अस्तमानी डबरा म्हणोन येक गांव होता, तेथे पोहोंचलो. त्या गावांत येकच वाण्याचे दुकान होते. त्या वाण्यास सिपायांनी सांगितले कीं या कैद्यांस आटा, दाल द्यावी. वाण्यानें सांगितले कीं मजपासीं कांहीं सामान नाहीं. तेव्हां केशवरावानी त्याचे दुकानांत सिरून जवरदस्तीनें आटयाचे मडके अुचलले, त्यांत सरासरी पांच साह सेर अटा असेल, तो घेतला व दोन तीन सेर गुळाचा खडा व येका

मडक्यांत तूप होते ते घेऊन त्याणें आपलेपासींल येक शेा त्यास दिल्हा, आतां याचे काय करावे, म्हणोन विच्यार प(ड)ला. कारण दिवस थंडीचे वेळा रात्रीची, स्नान कर्णेस मार्ग नाहीं. तेव्हां असा विच्यार ठरला कीं हे गूळ तूप आटचांत टाकून भाजून गूळ पापडीची फकी करून घ्यावी. त्याप्रो तैयार जाल्यावर पाणी आणून अकंठपरियेंत आम्ही तिघांनी खाले व पोट परमावधीचे फुगले, तरी अणखी खावे असी वासना राहिलीच होती. सारांष अतिक्रांत पोट फुगले ते अितके कीं पाणी पिण्यासही जागा राहिली नाहीं. थोडीसी कणीक राहिली ती बांधून ठेविली. परंतु पोट फुगल्यामुळें रात्रभर झोप अली नाहीं व अजीर्ण होअून करपट ढेगर येअू लागले. शौच्यास जाता जाता देशा जाली. प्राथःकालीं अुठून लस्कराकडे चालते जालो. मार्गांत पाणी भेटले तेथे शौच्य मुखमार्जन करून करपट ढेगर येत होते तरी राहिलेली फंकी त्रिवर्गानी खालीं. दोन प्रहरचे वेलेस सिंदे सरकारचे राज्यापौ मौजे आंत्री म्हणोन गांवी पोहोचलो. तो गांव तालुक्याचा असोन तेथे कमाविसदार चिंतोपंत म्हणोन कोकणस्थ ब्राम्हण होता. त्याजकडे सिपायांनी आम्हांस नेअून च्यालानाचा कागद त्यास देअून सांगितले कीं अिनके खानेपीनेका बंदोबस्त कर देव। त्याजवरून कमाविसदार यानें वाण्यास बोलाऊन सांगितले कीं यांस जे सामान लागेल ते द्यावे. त्याजवरून आम्हांस वाण्यानें विच्यारले कीं तुम्हांस काय सामान पाहिजे? त्याजवरून सवादोन सेर अटा व दीडपाव अुडदाची दाल, मिर्च्या तेल आमसुल वगैरे घेऊन स्वयंपाक केला. फोडणीचे वरणांत तिखट बहुत घालून तितकेही तिघांनी खाले. अधीच अजीर्ण जालेले, त्यांत अणखी असे भोजन जाले तेव्हां पोट फारच फुगून गेलेमुळें अति क्लेश होत होते, असो. अंत्रीपासून पांच कोस लस्कर अहे, तेथे अम्ही पोहोचल्यावर मुलाजीची पागा आहे त्यांत पहिलेही कैदी बिनदरयापती होते, त्यांत आम्ही जाअून राहिलो. दुसरे मी आपले आजा व मामाकडे निरोप पाठविला व केशवरावानें आपले घरी बाप व बंधूस निरोप पाठविला दाजीबाचा येक चुलत बंधू लंबोदर बापू म्हणून लस्करांत तो आपले शालकाचे येथें रोजगारानिमित्य अला, त्यास निरोप के(ला). माझे घरीहून व केशवरावाचे येथून पांधुरणें आले व माझे अजे बाळाजीपंत मोहोजकर दररोज दाह बारा दशम्या व कांहीं भाजी घेऊन दाह वाजतां येत होते व केशवरावाचे येथून दररोज त्रिवर्गापुर्त्या पंचवीस तीस दशम्या व येक फळभाजी येत होती. याखेरी(ज) अम्ही स्नानास जाअून स्नान करून आल्यावर अछेर दाल व अछेर तांदूल, अछेर कणीक आणि अछेर दही अितके सामान घेऊन येऊन स्वयंपाक करून येक वेलेस आलेल्या सर्व दशम्यासुद्दा खात होतो, तरी खाण्याविशई वासना तृप्त होत नसे. परंतु दररोज अजीर्ण होणे व करपट ढेकर आणि दोन च्यार वेल शौच्यास जावे लागत असे असा क्रम लस्करांत अल्यावर येक महिनाभर सतत चालला होता. मग मात्र थोडा थोडा अहार कमती होत चालला. दीड महिना बिनदरयापतीत होतो, असे कैद्याचे चौकसीचे काम बलवंतराव बाबासो जिनसीवाले व पंडित हरनाथ कोतवाल याजकडे होते. आमचे मामा विठलपंत जिनसीवाले यांजकडे जाअून विनंती करीत कीं आमचे भाच्यास चौकसी करून सोडवावे, त्याणी होय म्हणावे, असे चालले असता तेथेही बरोबर दीड महिना जाला तेव्हां येके दिवसी सदरील अधिकारी यांनी अम्हांस बोलाऊन विच्यारपूस करून सोडून दिल्हे. हे प्रकर्ण समाप्त.

लस्करांतील हाकीकत.

आमची सुटका जाल्यावर आमचे मामानी मजला घरी नेले. केशवराव अपले घरी गेले. दाजीबाचे बंधूचे घर तेथें नसल्यामुळें व सोयऱ्याचे येथें लंबोधर बापू राहत असल्यामुळें दाजीबास बापूनें रावजी कुलकर्णी पाथर्डीकर राहत होते, त्याचे येथें दाजीबास ठेविल्यावर कैद वगैरे दुःख बहुत जाले. व अिष्ट हेतु सिध्धीस न गेल्यामुळें दाजीबास तेथें राहणें कांहीं गोड लागेना व रात्रंदिवसात त्यास चैन पडेना. आम्ही त्यास सांगितले कीं असा धीर सोडल्यानें कसे होओील? आपले नष्टच्यर्याचे दिवस थोडे दिवसांत सरतील. मजला रोजगार लागल्यावर तुजलाही रोजगार लाऊन देअीन, अगर मी आपले दरमाहपैो अर्धा दरमाह तुजला रोजगार लागूपरियेंत देत जाओीन. हें सांगणें त्यास अगदी गोड लागू नये. अखेर थोडे दिवसांनी त्याचे तीर्थरूप अपाजी पांडुरंग याचे पत्र अल्यावरून दाजीबा देसी रवाणा जाले. मी आपले मामाचे घरीच कांहीं दिवस राहिलो, परंतु

लस्करांत गदर जाल्यामुळे आमचे मामाची नोकरी निघाली असल्यामुळें दिनच्यर्येची पंचाओत त्यास होती. सरकारांत सर्व कारखानें म्हणजे पल(ट)ण तोफखाना रिसाला वगैरे कांहीं येक नव्हते. यामुळे सर्व लोक बेकार होते. सर्व फौजच फितुर जाली होती. सन सपर सालांत जेष्ठ मासांत गंगेचा अुत्छव पेशवे याचे घराण्यात दरसाल होत होता. त्या प्रो रावसो पेशवे याणी दाह दिवस लस्करांस अुत्छव करून सर्व फौजेची तलब वाटणी दोन माही व तीन माही अिनाम दिल्हा होता. अठरा दिवस तात्या टोपे व रावसो पेशवे लस्करांत होते व श्रीमंत जयाजी माहराज अगऱ्यास साहेबाकडे गेले होते. त्याजबरोबर दिवाण दिनकरराव व ब्रिगेडचे दिवाण माधव रावसो खोत व त्याचे पुतणे विश्वनाथ गंगाधर खोत माझे मामीचे सखे धाकटे बंधू वगैरे मंडळी गेली होती. तेव्हडयाच्या मात्र नोकऱ्या कायम होत्या. बाकी इनाम चिटा ज्यांनी घेतला होता, ते सर्व लोकांवर माहराज सो यांची नाराजगी होअून त्या सर्वत्रांस बरतर्फ केले होते. अठरा दिवसानंतर अंग्रेजी फौज माहराज सो अग्र्याहून घेऊन येअून बागी लोकांस हकून दिल्हे. पुढें दोन वर्षपरियेंत फौज वगैरे कांहीं माहराजसाहेब यांनी भरली नाहीं. अर्थात नोकरी लागणेस मार्ग नव्हता. मामाचे घरी भोजन करून आम्हीं विश्वनाथ भैयासो यांचे येथे खुषामतीकरितां जात असावे. कांहीं दिवस असे स्थितीत लोटल्यावर त्याची मर्जी मी बरीच संपादन केली. माधवरावजी खोत यांचे घरी खाजगी कार(कू)ण बापूराव म्हणून होता. त्याणे कांहीं कारणामुळें जीव दिल्हा, तेव्हां त्याचे घरी कारकून नसल्यामुळें मजला ठेविले. त्याचे घरचा जमाखर्च मांडपूस करून त्यांचे पंक्तीस भोजन करून तेथेच राहत असे. पुढें ते मथुरा वृन्दावन रामघाट वगैरे यात्रेस खटल्यासुद्धा गेले, तेव्हां मजलाही बरोबर नेले. सात अठ हाजार रुो माझे हातानें खर्च जाला. परंतु येक पैशाचीही मी प्रतरणा केली नाहीं. यात्रा करून माघारी अल्यावर त्यांचे चिरंजीव धाकटे भास्करराव यांचे वृतबंधाचा नेम ठरून त्याही कार्यांत पांच च्यार हाजार रुो माझे हातून खर्च जाले. त्याचा हिसेब भुंगऊन दिल्हा. पुढें दोन वर्षानंतर फौज भरण्याचा हुा सरकारनी दिल्हा, तेव्हां थोडे दिवसांत पूर्ववत फौजा व कारखाने जाले. परंतु अठरा कारखाने म्हणजे रिग्युलर फौज सिलेदार येकांडे पागनिसी जिनसी गोशाळा वगैरे सर्व ब्रिगेडचे ताब्यांत सरकारांनी दिल्ह्या. त्याचा पगार अिकडूनच दिल्हा जात असे. सदरहू कारखाने ब्रिगेडकडे अले, अर्थात माधवरावजी व विश्वनाथ भैया यांची मालकींत कारकून वगैरे भरती कर्णेविषा सरकारचा हुा जाला. तेव्हां मजला पंधरा रुो दरमाहची नोकरी बक्षिसखान्यांत लाऊन दिल्ही. कांहीं दिवस तेथे नोकरी केल्यावर माधवरावजीसो खोत यांजवर सरकारची मर्जी फार बाहल होती व त्यांचे वडील बंधू दत्तोपंत बेकार होते. सबब सरकारास विनंती करून त्याजला मुलाजीची दुकान म्हणजे सरकारी खज्यान्याची दुकान होती, तेथे माहलानिहाय वसुलाचा भरणा सर्व पोतदारमार्फत येअून जमा होत होता, व त्याच दुकानातून सर्व सरकारी फौज वगैरेचे पगार दिल्हे जात होते. गदर जाल्यापासून पूर्वीचा कार मोडून बहुतेक ब्रिगटातूनच तनखे वाटले जात होते. त्या दुकानावर शंभर रुो दरमाहची नेमणूक करून सरकार परवानगीनें दत्तोपंत बापा खोत यास नेमिले. अर्थात सिलेदारी वगैरे कारखान्याचा पगार दुकानातून देण्याचा हुा जाल्यामुळें जे कारकून या कामावर बक्षीखान्यांत भरती जाले होते ते मजसुद्धा दुकानांत काम करू लागलो. तीन च्यार वर्ष याप्रो जाले. पुढें मनांतील हेतु मुख्यत्वेकरून होता कीं वडिलाची तारांबल अहे, तेव्हा काहींतरी कामे करून त्यांजकडे पाठवावे. तो हेतु सिध्धीस जाणेकरितां तीर्थरूपजीस पत्र पाठविले कीं नोकरीमुळे अवांतर कामाची खटपट कर्ण्यास सवड नाहीं करितां वडील बंधूस पा आपली नोकरी त्यास देअून मी मोकळा होओन, त्याप्रो वडील बंधूची रवानगी करून दिल्ह्यावर दुकानची असामी त्यांचे नावे करून देअून मी मोकळा जालो. प्रथम सिंदे सरकारचे ज्याहगीर गांवे पांच आंबड प्रगण्यापो घनसांगवी वगैरे होते त्याचा मक्ता आमचे तीर्थरूप व सखाराम लक्ष्मण चिंचोडीकर सिंदे सरकारचे पुण्याचे म्हणोन मारवाडी होते, त्याचे कारकून चिंचोडकर व मक्ता बापूजी गोपाल परांजपे सुभे जामगांव याजपासून घेतला. दुसरे वर्षी येकनाथ सखाराम कुलकर्णी पाथर्डीकर यांणी सुभेसोस कांहीं अंतस्थ देअून व वाढा देअून मक्ता करून घेतला. गांवे मोगलाओतील असल्याकारणानें दिवाणी फौजदारी सर्व सुभेसो याजकडें होती. पुढें कागदपत्र घेअून घनसागवीस येकनाथ सखाराम याजकडील कारकून अमचेकडील कारकुनानी तीनसे सिबंदी नोकर

ठेवून लक्षा तीन खून पडले तेव्हां हा तंटा, आंबड तालुक्याचे अधिकारी याजकडे गेल्यावर भता कामगारास तेथे बोलावणें जालेमुळें तिकडे जाण्यास निघाले. तेव्हां मोगलाओकडील स्वारांनी दगाबाजी करून आमचेकडील कारकुनास येकनाथ सखाराम यांचे सुपूर्द करून दिल्हे. अर्थात ठाणें सुटून आमल येकनाथ सखाराम याचा बसला. पुढील प्रकार लिहिण्यांत [अर्थ नाहीं. सारांष बापुजी गोपाल सुभे यांणी विनाकारण आमची नुकसणी केली. तो डौंष मनांत

(मजकूर फाटला आहे)......कडील सिंदे सरकारचा मुलूखत बदला......परंतु......(मजकूर फाटला आहे).........

लावून सिंदे सरकाराकडेसच चालत होते, त्याचा मक्ता साडे च्यार हाजार रुो विठल सखाराम वाटेगांवकर याणे करून घेतला. अिकडील कामावर त्याचे धाकटे बंधू राघोपंत व रामकृष्ण वाहेगांवकर करीत होते. विठल सखाराम याचे व आमचे तीर्थरूप याचे वाकडे होते. त्याजकडे आमचे तीनसे त्याचा ह्यानामा जाल्यावर विठल सखाराम लस्करांत पळून गेले. त्यास काढावे अशी आमची अिछा जाली. त्यास साहय लस्कर मुकामी